THE FALL OF SIKH EMPIRE

Alexander Gardner

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Sikh Sovereignty and British Imperialism Series-21

An Eyewitness Account
of
THE FALL OF SIKH EMPIRE
(Memories of Alexander Gardner)

Editor
Dr. Baldev Singh Baddan

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FROM:- S. S. JEET
H.H. Shri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji Library
36 Margery Park Road
Forest Gate, London E7 9JY

1999
NATIONAL BOOK SHOP
Pleasure Garden Market
Chandni Chowk, Delhi 110 006

Rs.110

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Sikh Sovereignty and British Imperialism Series -21

1999

ISBN 81-7116-231-2

Published by National Book Shop Pleasure Garden Market, Chandni Chowk, Delhi -110 006 *Laser typeset at* J.M.D. Computerised Job Work F-2/6, Malviya Nagar, Delhi-17 *Printed at* H.S. Offset Printer Darya Ganj, New Delhi-2

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An Eyewitness Account
of

THE FALL OF SIKH EMPIRE

(Memories of Alexander Gardner)

Edited by
Major Hugh Pearse

with an introduction by
**The Right Hon.
Sir Richard Temple, Bart., G.C.S.I.**

1898

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Dedicated to

Dr. Balwinder Singh Sohal

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PREFACE

Europeans have been in the service of Indian Princes even before the times of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. These soldiers of fortune had created vast armies, conquered kingdoms for their employers and won power and distinction for themselves. Niccolo Manuce, who was in the service of Dara Shikoh as a gunner, tells us that Shah Jehan and Aurangzeb had over 100 European gunners in their service. Clement Dowson records that the personal guard of the Maghul Emperor in 1722. A.D. had 70 Europeans, well-paid and considered.

There were over 100 Europeans from time to time in the service of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Some of them made highly important contributions in Maharaja Ranjit Singh's exertions in expanding and consolidating his empire. Notable among them was Avitabile, who besides being a combatant was also an able administrator. But for his ability and wisdom, Peshawar could not have been governed and retained in the dominions where every other administrator sent by the Maharaja had failed.

Quite early in his career of conquest, Maharaja Ranjit Singh had realised that unless his army was trained and modelled along European lines, he could not hope to realise his dream of founding a Khalsa kingdom. He knew European trained troops of Indian Princes had done marvellously well. He had heard of the successes of men trained by the adventurer George Thomas who was highly feared by the Sikhs of cis-Satluj states. He had also seen Lord Lake's sepoys who had halted on the left bank of Beas while in hot pursuit of Holkar. Close at hand, he had seen Metcalfe's small escort routing a swarm of Akali assailants led by the redoubtable Phula Singh Akali. His own fighting force was composed of the likes of Phula Singh Akali—disorderly and indisciplined and lacking in fighting strategy. He wanted to leave behind the *misl* army which he had inherited and in its place have a modern army motivated and trained for conquest and consolidation.

The type and style of Sikh soldier of *misl* tradition is best described by Major Lawrence, in his book *Adventures of an Officer in the Panjab.* Says he: "Go to bazaar, take any dirty, naked, *lucha* (scoundrel), twist up

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his hair, give him a lofty turban and a clean vest; comb out and lengthen his beard, and gird his loins with yellow *kamarband*, put a clumsy sword by his side, and long spear in his cowardly hands; set him on a strong, bony, two-year-old horse, and you have a passable Sikh."

This description of a Sikh soldier might be correct by and large except for the fact that a Sikh soldier was never known to be coward.

Maharaja Ranjit Singh welcomed every deserter from the British army or a European traveller, adventurer or a soldier of fortune in his service with the object of having his army trained and the whole fighting outfit designed along European lines. His fame as a liberal paymaster and hospitable employer had travelled far and wide such that many discharged soldiers from European armies trekked arduous and risky terrains to arrive at his court with an application for employment in his army. One such soldier of fortune was Alexander Gardner, an American by birth, who after a dashing and adventurous life through central Asia arrived at the Maharaja's court one fine morning in 1831 and was immediately hired albeit after a brief interview and test as a gunner. Soon he was promoted to be a colonal of Artillery. To this post he served well past the death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh till the first Sikh war. After his stint with the Khalsa army, he joined Raja Gulab Singh's service. He served Maharaja Gulab Singh's successor also. He died in Jammu at the age of 92, but not before leaving his memoirs for posterity giving true facts of history as seen and understood by him.

In the post-Ranjit Singh period, Gardner is seen striding alongside the principal characters who were shaping historical events. In some of the momentous events he was in the eye of the storm. This book is taken from his 'Memoirs' which has served as a source book of Sikh history ever since it was published over a hundred years ago.

B. S. Baddan

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INTRODUCTION

A GOODLY portion of Colonel Gardner's eventful life was spent in the Panjab kingdom or province during the palmy days of Ranjit Singh. His adventurous travels were in the regions adjacent to or beyond the Panjab frontier. The early years of my own active service were passed in the Panjab, and I was accustomed, indeed obliged, to study the affairs of the regions beyond its north-west frontier, even though I had no chance of travelling in them. Thus the names mentioned by Gardner in his Memoirs regarding countries beyond the Panjab have long been known to me from anxious study. The names of men and places mentioned by him in the Panjab are still better known to me—those of men either from personal acquaintance or very near tradition, those of places either from frequent visits or from actual residence. Major Pearse has now arranged these stirring and interesting Memoirs in a lucid and satisfactory manner; and I willingly comply with his request that I should write a brief Introduction.

It is indeed hard for me to describe to readers the memories which a perusal of these Memoirs summons up in my imagination,—the potent figures whom I used to see moving on the historic stage, now described by one who knew them even more intimately than I did; the workings of human nature in the most mountainous regions of the earth, which I often heard narrated by many an Asiatic, now recorded in my own language by one who saw them in their very midst; the tremendous events, on which I constantly pondered while standing on the very spots or places where they occurred, now depicted by one who was a witness of, or participator in, them.

As is often the case in the men who live a daring, dashing life that sustains nervous tension and excites the imaginative faculties, Gardner evidently possessed a power of narration and description in a high degree—clear in facts, graphic in touches of detail, picturesque invariably—applicable equally to human motive, action, and habit—appreciative towards others, modest respecting himself—indicating that presence of mind, whether in distress or in peril, whereby his aptitude

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for accurate observation never for an instant failed him. In the middle and later part of his career he must have been a fairly diligent writer. Had he been able to preserve all his papers, and if, after the loss of some among them, he had been at the pains of bringing out all he had, under his own eye, with the requisite supplements, a capital record would have been handed down to us. The tale of his career would have been as good as that which Othello told to Desdemona. As it is, his life-story is something of that nature, and though not so complete as it might have been under the auspices of the narrator himself, has yet been made sufficiently so by Major Pearse's good care and skill.

To the Memoirs also are appended some useful memoranda regarding the several European officers employed together with Gardner in the service of Ranjit Singh.

Alexander Gardner was born in 1785 in North America, on the shore of Lake Superior, and died at Srinagar, the capital of Kashmir, in 1877. His father was a Scottish emigrant to the then British colonies of North America, who took part in the War of Independence. His mother was an English-woman resident in South America, and had an admixture of Spanish blood. Her distinguished son wrote of her in terms of the highest admiration. He inherited an adventurous disposition from both sides, paternal and maternal. He sought first for a position in the Russian service, but accidentally lost it on the eve of attainment. Then he crossed the Caspian Sea, and entered on a career of adventure in Central Asia, from Kokan across the Hindu Caucasus to Herat, amidst ambuscades, fierce reprisals, hairbreadth escapes, alternations between brief plenty and long fasting—amidst episodes sometimes of brutality and cruelty wellnigh inconceivable, at other times of hearty charity and fidelity unto death. For some time he was prominent in the service of Habibulla Khan, the first Afghan opponent of the great Dost Muhammad Khan. During two years he actually enjoyed a term of domestic happiness, when he was peaceful indoors though generally at war out-of-doors. This was the one oasis in the wild desert of his whole life. To the last he could never refer to it without tears, case-hardened as he was, with his memory seared by many horrors, and his visage hardened by looking at terrors in the face. It met with a bloody and piteous termination; and then for some time he had to get through an existence fraught with extremity of hardship and of crisis, during which he was preserved by his own intrepidity and penetration.

At length he succeeded in entering the Panjab, being engaged in the service of the Afghan chiefs who held Peshawar, and who were

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subdued by Maharaja Ranjit Singh. While there he received a command to enter Ranjit Singh's service, and proceeded to Lahore. He was employed in the Maharaja's service as commandant of artillery for several years. Then he was transferred to the service of Dhyan Singh, the Prime Minister, a Rajput of the lower Himalayas, who with his brother, the famous Gulab Singh, became the chief feudatories of the Sikh sovereignty. He made the acquaintance of Henry Lawrence, then a rising political officer at Peshawar, at the time of the British disasters at Kabul in 1841. After Dhyan Singh's death he served Gulab Singh alone. He witnessed, or was in close contact with, the sanguinary revolutions that followed one after another upon the death of Ranjit Singh. He was at Lahore during the first Panjab war in 1845-46. He then returned to the territories of Gulab Singh, who became sovereign of Jammu and Kashmir. He died a pensioner under Gulab Singh's successor in Kashmir at the advanced age of about ninety years. His constitution, originally magnificent, must have become somewhat worn out by the severe vicissitudes of a long career, and he dreamed the evening of his life away.

It is wonderful how he retained the power of writing English simply, gracefully, graphically, inasmuch as for several years consecutively he could never have heard it spoken nor had any opportunities of reading it. For long intervals he could have used no language but Mongolian or Pushtoo, and later on little but Panjabee. He must also have learnt at least something of Persian and Russian.

Referring to matters concerning Ranjit Singh, we may observe that it relates hardly at all to the condition of the Panjab at the time. Gardner had but scant notions— I might almost say no notion—of civil government. But after quitting the turbulent Peshawar and its cut-throat neighbours, and on crossing the Indus, he was evidently struck with the comparative peace, the rule and order, which reigned in the Panjab. In the absence of any account from the author, I may explain to our readers the character of Ranjit Singh's civil rule in a few words—having myself had to study it while the memory of it was fresh among the people, and while evidence on every point was forthcoming. It was as bad as it dared to be with such a people as the Panjabi—just that and no worse. It took all that it could venture to take from the people—that much and no more. It took no thought for judgement and justice—that was relegated to feudatories of degrees and sorts ; but they were men of the country, locally respected or feared, and they would not carry things too far.

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The Sikh sovereignty—as a political and military institution only—was popular in the Panjab. It was the symbol of a national faith, founded on a sort of theocracy, but victorious by force of arms. The people were in no humour to quarrel with it needlessly. So long as they could go on paying their way, they did not want any revolution—they would bear a burden sooner than rebel, they would yield up a large percentage of their crops before they turned out to fight. They would so turn out, however, instantly if provoked beyond a certain point, and this too with grenadier-like force. The knowledge of this kept the conduct of the Government within bounds.

Still, Gardner gives us much material for historical completion of the portraiture of Ranjit Singh, who—considering his comparatively humble birth, his mean bringing up with really no education, his want of personal gifts, the disadvantages arising from debased habits and the lowest life—was the most extraordinary native that ever rose to power in India within modern times—power effectively great and long sustained over the manliest race on the Indian continent—personal, too, to himself alone, so that when it dropped from his dying hands no successor could be found to take it up. Thus the reader will doubtlessly note the various meetings which Gardner had with Ranjit Singh, the cautious inquiries about military affairs, the instinctive dread of the approach of the British Power, the employment of European officers in the field, the march with the army to the Afghan frontiers with the Sikh sovereign at its head, the strange affairs at the mouth of the Khyber Pass, and the several other operations on the Trans-Indus border. He gives some instructive notes regarding Ranjit Singh's management of the Sikh or Khalsa army. While presenting a high estimate of Ranjit Singh's capacity for kingship, he abstains from noticing—perhaps he even throws a veil over—the king's vices, which were scandalously overt and destructive of respectability in the State. He must have seen these more or less, but he is loyal when leaving them unmentioned. This is the more noteworthy in that he deals quite differently with the character of Gulab Singh, who was equally his patron and ultimately his sole employer.

His analysis of Gulab Singh's conduct and disposition amounts to ruthless vivisection, and must doubtless be true. On the other hand, he attributes many wise and able qualities to his master, to whom this particular praise—well deserved, no doubt—was most acceptable. Strangely enough, it appears that this character was published at the time, and gave no offence to Gulab Singh. This would be incredible had it not been authenticated. The fact must be, that Gulab Singh had been so

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inured to the commission of crime, and Gardner to the sight of it, that both had ceased to be horrified by it. Therefore the one did not hesitate to impute it, nor did the other mind the imputation, so long as a certain sort of praise was attributed which the one knew how to render with discrimination and the other appreciated highly.

The events in the palaces of native princes in India have now been known to European authorities for a century and a half. I do not remember any so grave as those which occurred in quick succession at the capital of the Panjab, Lahore, at this epoch, after the death of Ranjit Singh. Upon most of these a lurid light is thrown by Gardner's narrative, he being an eyewitness of some, or in immediate proximity to others. I must refer the reader to Gardner's word-pictures of these grim occasions—their effect would be marred by any attempt at reproduction. The story of how Dhyan Singh the Vizier receives a deadly threat from Chet Singh within the next twenty-four hours—how Dhyan Singh (Gardner with him) follows up Chet Singh that very night into the recesses of the palace, and after a tiger-spring stabs him to the heart, saying that the twenty-four hours are not over—is dramatically tragic. Rarely do we have such a tale authenticated at first hand by an eyewitness. Of a similar character is the murder of Dhyan Singh, shot in the back, and the sati-burning of his young widow—she declaring that her funeral fire shall not be lighted till the heads of her husband's murderers are placed at her feet ; and she, when they have been thus placed by Gardner himself, mounting the pyre and applying the torch with her own hand, her little maid in her lap sharing the same fate.

Equally graphic is the account of the murder of Maharaja Sher Singh. He has a stormy interview with a great feudatory. At the end he asks to look at the handsomely-worked barrel of a musket which the feudatory bears. Admiring it, he gets the muzzle close to his breast; the feudatory pulls the trigger and the king drops dead. The last scene at Lahore is remarkable, when the Sikh army, governed no longer by its sovereign but by its own military committees, is shortly to march and cross the Sutlej as an act of war against the British. There is now an infant Maharaja as sovereign, with his mother as regent, assisted by a brother, who is especially unpopular with the army. All three are summoned to attend a great parade : they come in state, she and her boy on one elephant and he on another. They are received with an ominously resounding salute of artillery. Her elephant is first made to kneel down; she with her boy is dragged shrieking to a sumptuous tent ; then the brother's elephant is made to kneel, and he is promptly despatched in the

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face of the army. Such was the discipline with which the Sikh army on the eve of contest prepared itself to cross swords with the British.

Lastly, while the army is fighting a losing battle, a big deputation comes back from it to Lahore to see the Regent and complain to her against the commissariat. She receives them, the complains grow louder, and the fate of the capital is trembling ; suddenly (Gardner standing just behind her) she flings off her loose outer skirt and flings it at their heads, saying, "Wear that, you cowards, while I go to fight in man's equipment!" The men are abashed and the crisis is for the moment averted. I have held out only a few signals, but to realise these romances of real life, the reader must peruse Gardner's narrative.

These Memoirs, published just half a century after the event, corroborate the conclusion formed by many, as I remember, after the first Sikh war in 1845-46. On the death of Ranjit Singh in 1839, Sikh rule in the Panjab became an impossibility. The members of a brave but unruly confederacy, extending over the Land of the Five Rivers, had been united and held together by the rough genius of Ranjit Singh, but never welded nor consolidated. He was not statesman enough for such consolidation, being merely a rude organiser, and a fighting commander without being a soldier in any higher sense. On his death it became, from Gardner's narrative, clearer than ever that there were four parties clutching with lethal violence at each other's throats—the Court party, the so-called blood princes, the Dogras (Dhyan Singh and Gulab Singh), and the Sindhanwalia chiefs. Above all was an unmanageable army acknowledging no power but its own. The destruction of all these elements, the one by the other, was about happening when the first Sikh war broke out. On a retrospect we may almost regret that the British Government could not then annex the country, the native rule having become demonstrably impossible. That would have saved all the bloodshed in the second war. As it was, a further respite was allowed in the hope of better things. But the fire of distrubance burst forth worse than ever. The second war had to be undertaken, and after that the annexation of the Panjab became inevitable. If any one should doubt the ultimate necessity of that annexation, let him consult these Memoirs of Gardner.

RICHARD TEMPLE

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CHAPTER 1

ADVENTURES IN THE PANJAB

IT MAY be as well to repeat, for the information of those unfamiliar with Eastern history, that Peshawar, so long a bone of contention between the Sikh and Afghan nations, was now (1831-32 A.D.) practically a portion of the Panjab. Sultan Muhammad Khan, though nominally an independent sovereign, was to all intents and purposes a vassal of Ranjit Singh.

It was, in fact, not very long after Gardner's arrival at Peshawar that the Maharaja compelled Sultan Muhammad to join his Court, and replaced him as governor of Peshawar by a succession of Sikh sardars, who, proving incapable of managing the turbulent people of Peshawar, that "nest of scorpions," were succeeded finally by the iron-handed Avitabile.

Gardner thus describes his entry into the Panjab :-

I went to Peshawar in the month of August 1831, and remained there until the spring of the following year, 1832, when a letter was received by Sultan Muhammad Khan from Maharaja Ranjit Singh[1] desiring my services. I myself would have preferred to remain at Peshawar, but Sultan Muhammad dared not refuse the Maharaja. I regretted leaving him, as he had treated me kindly and honourably, making me daily a guest at his table, and giving me a liberal salary.

On taking my leave of Sultan Muhammad, he bestowed a number of gifts upon me, including an excellent horse and a sum of money.

I was directed to travel under the care of the Maharaja's *daroga*, or chief of the stud, who was then at Peshawar, collecting the annual tribute of horses. Some delay, however, occurred in his setting out on his journey to Lahore, as none but the best Persian or Turki horses were accepted in tribute, and I took advantage of the opportunity by again visiting my friends Mir Alam Khan of Bajaur, Futteh Khan of Panchthar, and Paindah Khan of Am, on the right bank of the Indus.

Thence crossing to Torbela, I went down to the fort of Attock,

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where I met the *daroga* with his horses. His escort consisted of some forty well-armed Sikh horsemen; but notwithstanding, he had been attacked at night between Peshawar and Attock by 300 or 400 Afridis, and four of his horses had been taken from him.

On our way from Attock to Rawalpindi we were again attacked by 400 to 500 Ghakkars near the Margali Pass, with a loss on this occasion of two horses and five men.

After this nothing of import occurred until the party arrived safely at Gujrat. Hence the *daroga* started direct for Lahore, while I and my servants remained a few days with Dr Harlan[2] then governor of the district. Then, crossing the Chenab river, I went to Wazirabad where I remained four or five days the guest of General Avitabile[3] the governor. It was unfortunate that a sore animosity existed at the time between these two governors. However, I received letters of introduction from both, and went from Wazirabad to Lahore, where I met Generals Ventura[4] and Court.[5]

After a few days' delay I was presented at Court by General Ventura and the Prime Minister, Raja Dhyan Singh.

I presented my letters from Syad Jan, chief of Kunar, and from Mir Alam Khan of Bajaur, both of whom were on friendly terms with the Maharaja. I also had letters from the three Barakzai brothers, Sardars Sultan Muhammed of Peshawar, Pir Muhammad of Kohat, and Syad Mahmud of Hashtnagar.

On the day of my presentation to the Maharaja, and while I was waiting outside of Shalimar Gardens, an incident occurred which is described in the work called '*Adventures of an Officer*,' by the great and good Sir Henry Lawrence (afterwards my well-known and honoured friend).

A certain Nand Singh, an officer of the Maharaja's cavalry, rode his horse intentionally against me and endeavoured to jostle me into the ditch , which was deep and filled with running water. I touched the rein of my good steed, gave him half a turn, pressed him with my sword-hand the veriest trifle on the loins, and in an instant Nand Singh and his horse were rolling on the ground . I calmly expressed a hope that the fallen man was not hurt, and was treated with much civility during the remaining time that I was kept waiting .

Shortly after I was summoned to the Maharaja's presence and was graciously received by that great man. Much as I had heard of the insignificance of his appearance, it at first startled me ; but the profound respect with which he was treated, and the extraordinary range of subjects on which he closely examined me, speedily dispelled the first impression.

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Gardner's Debut as a Gunner

The Maharaja was indeed one of those masterminds which only require opportunity to change the face of the globe . Ranjit Singh made a great and powerful nation from the disunited confederacies of the Sikhs, and would have carried his conquests to Delhi or even farther has it not been for the simultaneous rise and consolidation of the British empire in India.

At the time of my arrival at Lahore the Maharaja was in want of an instructor of artillery, M. Court being employed principally as superintendent of the gun-factory. He was a very amiable and accomplished man, as was General Ventura.

A few days after my audience Raja Dhyan Singh, the Prime Minister, showed me the two guns that had been presented by Lord William Bentinck, the Governor-General of India, to Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Dhyan Singh pointed out to me the shells and fuses in the tumbrils, and asked me if I could explain their use or fire them. I found in one of the tumbrils, inclosed in a bundle of fuses, a small printed slip of paper giving instructions as to the time of burning, time of flight, &c. Having read this, I told Dhyan Singh that I hoped to be able to fire them and to satisfy him as to my knowledge of their proper use. I, however, asked to be allowed to cut and burn one fuse first, which at his desire I did in his presence. The result agreeing with that shown on the printed slip, there seemed to be no further difficulty.

Accordingly one of the guns, with its tumbril, &c., was given over next day into my charge, and I was ordered to get ready to fire three or four of the shells at different distances in the presence of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. I took a few soldiers in hand, and in a few days' time all this was done with a degree of success unexpected even by myself, the shells bursting exactly as required at 600, 800, 1000 and 1200 yards.

This occurred in the presence of the Maharaja and his entire Court, and all seemed pleased, especially the Prime Minister Raja Dhyan Singh, who ever after acted as my patron and steadfast friend. His brothers Raja (afterwards Maharaja) Gulab Singh and Raja Suchet Singh also befriended me.

In consequence of my success as an artillerist I received a considerable present, and was enrolled in the Maharaja's service with the rank of colonel of artillery, and was placed in full command of a camp of eight horse-artillery guns, two mortars, and two howitzers. I was likewise deputed to teach most of the principal officers attached to the artillery, at the head of whom were General Sultan Muhammad and several colonels, all of whom as my *shagird* (pupils) were directed to

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present me with a *nuzzar* or douceur of 500 to 1000 rupees.

For two or three months Maharaja Ranjit Singh witnessed with much interest their firing of shell, shot, canister, red-hot shot, &c. ; all receiving presents from his Highness according to their proficiency and merits. The presents ranged from 500 to 5000 rupees, and were usually paid, half in gold and silver, and half in Pashmina shawls,[6] &c. This mode of treatment proved, of course, a strong incentive to the Maharaja's officers, who worked hard, early and late.

I should mention that on meeting my countryman Harlan I resumed the character of a *wilayati* or foreigner, and resumed also the name of Gardner, which I had abandoned for so long that it sounded strangely in my ears. The Sikhs usually called me "Gordana."

Thus matters continued for three or four months, when I was ordered to proceed with my park of artillery, to which was added a force of 800 regular infantry and 400 "Ghorcharahs," or irregular cavalry, to join General Ventura. The General had previously been despatched with his force of about 6000 men to subjugate and annex Sabzal-kot and Rojan, both on the right bank of the Indus below Mittun-kot. This object, after some trouble, having been effected, I received an order to march with all speed with my force of artillery, infantry, and cavalry *via* Dera Ghazi Khan and Dera Ismail Khan to join the Sikh force, then in Bannu, under the command of Sardar Tara Singh. Accordingly I went, finding considerable difficulty at and on each side of the Paizu Pass, from bad roads and an almost complete lack of water .

Hard Pressed by Afghan Army

On reaching the fort of Lukki, to the north of the Paizu Pass and on the river Gombela, I found Tara Singh hard pressed by the Bannuites, he having but 2000 Sikh irregular cavalry and four small guns with him, without any infantry. He found himself obliged to act on the defensive against some thousands of well-armed and mounted Bannuites, assisted by 4000 to 5000 wild mountain Waziris on foot. However, in the course of about four months we managed to cut down, burn, and destroy all the grain crops, and to level and destroy the forts, villages, gardens, fruit-trees, orchards, &c., of all the most refractory, and of those who refused to pay their fixed annual stipend or revenues. This effected, we returned to Lahore *via* Kalabagh on the river Indus.

In such expeditions I served the Maharaja for some three years, and early in 1835 I was marching south when, at Wazirabad or Ramnagar, I found the whole Sikh army, with Ranjit Singh at their head, in full march towards Peshawar. Here Tara Singh, with and under whom I was still serving, halted on the banks of the Chenab for a day or two for

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instructions. Having received them, we changed our front and marched westward, and soon took up our respective positions in the advancing Sikh army. On arriving at Peshawar we found Amir Dost Muhammad with 40,000 or 50,000 of his own troops, and about 60,000 to 80,000 Ghazis, encamped at and about the mouth of the Khaibar Pass.

The "Francese Compo,"[7] or French division of the Sikh army, then personally commanded by the four French and Italian generals—Messieurs Allard,[8] Ventura, Avitabile, and Court—and having a strength of 20,000 to 22,000 men, marched towards Hashtnagar, and thence slowly and cautiously made its way westward and south-westward with the object of turning the left flank of the Dost's army ; while the remainder of the Sikh army, commanded by Ranjit Singh himself, and 60,000 to 80,000 strong, horse and foot, threatened Dost Muhammad's centre and right flank.

The good, kind, and polite old Fakir Azizuddin,[9] with his younger brother Nuruddin, *Chefs Diplomatiques* of home, foreign, and private affairs, Head and Grand Ministers of State of Ranjit Singh, were, as peacemakers, day and night, backward and forward parleying direct between Ranjit Singh and Dost Muhammad. They certainly performed this duty at great personal risk, as serious and heavy cannonading and skirmishing took place every day from morning till night between the two armies.

The firing and fighting took place along the whole front, and there being but two and a half or three short miles between the armies, and the Afghan position being on rising ground, every movement on either side was plainly visible to the other. Thus matters proceeded for about a month, when the entire Sikh army, with the French division, were ready to advance and make a simultaneous attack on the Afghan position.

Flight of the Afghans

Ranjit Singh ordered pay to be issued to the whole army without delay, and accordingly all arrears, with one month's pay in addition as a present, were issued to all the troops with such celerity that the entire 100,000 men were paid off in the course of about four hours. A general advance and attack along the whole line was ordered to commence at four o'clock the next morning. This was done, but the Sikhs had not advanced above 1000 yards when the words "Fled ! Fled !" were loudly vociferated by the whole army, proclaiming that the bird had flown. In fact, Dost Muhammad, with all his troops and Ghazis, had retreated during the night into the Khaibar, and when day broke not even a single tent or Afghan was to be seen.

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The Sikh army was halted, and encamped on their advanced ground for two days, and Fakir Azizuddin returning from his mission on the evening of the second day, the camp was broken up on the third, and the whole army retired on Peshawar. After five or six days' rest Maharaja Ranjit Singh with his army marched back to Lahore, leaving Sirdar Hari Singh Nalwa as governor of Peshawar. By this one month's sparring, coquetting, and skirmishing with Dost Muhammad, Ranjit Singh gained his long-wished-for object, the undisputed occupation and mastership of the Peshawar valley. But still it could not be called a bloodless victory, for the Sikhs daily lost from 100 to 150, or even 200 men : the Afghan loss must have been much greater, the Sikh artillery being far more numerous than, and superior to, that of the Afghans.

The cavalry charges—in bodies of from 2000 to 5000 men on either side—were usually very serious and bloody affairs; and the Sikhs daily lost many lives at the merciless hands of the Ghazis, who, each with his little green Moslem flag, boldly pressed on, freely and fairly courting death and martyrdom. They only became shy of thus advancing when they had seen the bodies of dead Ghazis burnt in heaps; for in their wild fanatical simplicity they believed that if their bodies are thus burnt, instead of going to heaven they inevitably go to the nether regions.

On recrossing the Indus at the fort of Attock the Sikhs unfortunately lost a full boat-load of regular infantry; and the rear and flanks of the Sikh army, both in going to and returning from Peshawar, were, as was always the case, harassed by the Ghakkars. This tribe inhabits the range of hills westward of Rawulpindi, and claims to be of Persian descent. Their legends speak of a former great Ghakkar dynasty.[10] Parties of the Sikh army were also constantly attacked by the Afridi tribe, which inhabits the hills between Attock and Peshawar.

On reaching the Jhelum river the army was, to some extent, broken up, a large part of it being dispersed on various duties. A body of 5000 or 6000 men were sent to Bannu, as it was stated that the Waziris had collected in large numbers, and were about to unite with the Afridis of Kohat, and with the Khaibaris, for the purpose of attacking Hari Singh, and, if possible, of retaking Peshawar.

The three former Barakzai chiefs of Peshawar had gone to Kabul with their brother, Dost Muhammad ; but a short time afterwards Maharaja Ranjit Singh sent for them, and honoured them and treated them well at Lahore, though I do not know how he induced them to go there. When I reached Gujrat a *sardar* or general named Amir or Mir Singh, with two strong battalions of infantry, 500 Sikh irregular cavalry, and my camp of artillery, was ordered to follow and join the force already sent to Bannu. We accordingly marched down the left bank of the Jhelum, crossed over

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at Khushab, and marched thence *via* Towana and the sandy desert road to Kalabagh, where we crossed the Indus. Thence we marched to Bannu by the Esau-khel road, and then joined the main body. We found the Bannuites usually quiet and amenable, willing peaceably to pay their annual tribute ; but the hill Waziri tribes, particularly those of Kunigaram, gave us no rest day or night for the three or four months that we remained at Bannu. We received strict orders not to enter the hills, and therefore could not punish them as we desired ; but the dread of our doing so, and our daily threatening to do so prevented them from going towards either Kohat or Peshawar, as otherwise they might have done. Moreover, they soon heard that the Barakzai *sardars*, the former chiefs of Peshawar, had gone to Lahore and were well treated there ; and this news kept them quiet for a time. So, receiving the annual tribute without further trouble, we all returned to Lahore .

After a short time I went with my camp to Amritsar for the Dasahra festival, for which occasion the whole of Ranjit Singh's army was yearly collected in camp. It was about this time that the Prime Minister, Raja Dhyan Singh[11] took me from Maharaja Ranjit Singh's service and placed me in full command of his own and his brothers' artillery, which was attached to the already organised Jammu contingent of 7000 to 8000 men.

Death of Hari Singh Nalwa

The artillery portion of the contingent, now placed under my command, consisted of six nine-pounder and six six-pounder horse-artillery guns, four mortars, four howitzers, and two three-pounder mountain-guns, twenty-two pieces in all, besides some camel-guns, all well found and in good order. With this camp, and attached to the Jammu contingent, I marched with Ranjit Singh and his whole army about the early spring of 1837 from Lahore to Wazirabad, and thence down the left bank of the Chenab, *via* Ramnagar to Chiniote. So far, this march was supposed to have for its object the settling of some differences between Diwan Sawun Mull, Governor of Multan, and Raja Gulab Singh, ruler of Jammu. However, we halted some time at Chiniote, where at first rumours, and afterwards authentic news, reached us that Sardar Muhammad Akbar Khan, Dost Muhammad's son, had come from Kabul with 20,000 to 25,000 Afghan troops, had passed through the Khaibar, and was now devastating the plains of Peshawar up to the very walls of the city; and that the Sikh governor, Sardar Hari Singh Nalwa, though undoubtedly an experienced and remarkably brave soldier of acknowledged skill, could make no head against him. Soon afterwards

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news arrived of Sardar Hari Singh's death, he having fallen bravely at the head of his Sikh troops under the sword of the Afghans.[12]

A Rapid March

Ranjit Singh, now aroused to action, issued immediate and strict orders for the whole army to reach Peshawar as quickly as possible by forced marches, each commander choosing his own road. The Prime Minister, Raja Dhyan Singh, a remarkably brave and active man, reached the fort of Jamrud, near the Khaibar, with 10,000 to 12,000 irregular cavalry, on the morning of the seventh day from Chiniote ; but he unfortunately found that Muhammad Akbar Khan, hearing of the rapid and near approach of the whole Sikh army, after doing all the injury he could, had on the previous day fled back towards Kabul. On the morning of the ninth day Raja Gulab Singh,[13] at the head of his contingent, all intact, reached Khairabad, opposite and west of Attock ; and during that day the bulk of the Sikh army arrived, and were crossing the river pell-mell and in no small confusion and uproar.

While Raja Gulab Singh with one contingent was passing westward through the Gidar Gali Pass about noon, he received written directions from his brother at Jamrud not to advance towards Peshawar, but to cross the Kabul river and enter and overawe both the upper and lower Yusufzai country—these tribes, emboldened by Muhammad Akbar Khan's temporary success and firebrand raid, having become refractory and inclined to mischief. This order, though apparently simple to obey, really gave Raja Gulab Singh and our whole contingent plenty—nay, handfuls—of work night and day for six months: for the artillery it was a regular life in the saddle. During the Yusufzai campaign Mian Udam Singh,[14] Raja Gulab Singh's eldest son, almost daily achieved such prodigies of valour as to call forth the unstinted admiration and applause, and often the amazement, of the whole contingent. If Raja Suchet Singh,[15] his uncle, was too reckless, dashing, flashy, and fiery before the enemy, Udam Singh also was rash and impetuous to a dangerous degree.

Meanwhile trouble had arisen in Gulab Singh's own dominions. Raja Dhyan Singh had an orderly or servant of good family, belonging to one of the hill tribes south and south-west of Kashmir and Punch. This man, Shamas Khan by name, whom the Raja had treated with considerable kindness, spread a false report throughout the whole hill-country (while the brothers were busily engaged) that both Gulab Singh and Dhyan Singh had been killed in battle.

The entire population of these hill regions were thus encouraged to rise in armed rebellion, and by stratagem and treachery most of the hill forts about there were seized and the garrisons massacred.

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Gulab Singh Rushes Back to Suppress Rebellion

This untoward news of course made Raja Gulab Singh anxious to return and regain his sovereignty, and the Yusufzai region being now settled and peaceful, the Raja with his contingent crossed in the autumn to the left bank of the Indus at Bazar-ki-Patan, some miles above Attock, and marched thence direct to Kahati, near the Jhelum, north-west of Rawulpindi. Leaving his artillery here, Raja Gulab Singh with the remainder of the contingent entered the hills, while another body of troops moved up quickly from Jammu. After some desultory warfare the rebellion was crushed and subdued in about three months, when the whole contingent again returned to Lahore. I had not been long there when news arrived that the Sikh force in Bannu had been obliged to retire across the Indus, and had suffered great loss. On this Raja Suchet Singh with Prince Nao Nihal Singh, son of Shahzada Kharak Singh, with a large Sikh force and the Jammu contingent, were ordered to proceed to Bannu without delay.

Our contingent, under Raja Suchet Singh, reached Kalabagh by forced marches, and thence went on to Bannu carefully—the Sikh force under Nao Nihal Singh joining us a day or two after. For two months or more we had severe fighting with some thousands of Waziris and Bannuites united. However, we levelled and burnt all the refractory Bannu fort-villages, and beat the Waziris back into their hills, and even well punished and dispersed them. This done, we marched by the Paizu Pass, (also called "Shaikh Budin"), to Tank, to punish the Nawab of that principality—he being the cause and instigator of all the late troubles in this quarter ; but previous to our arrival he had fled to one of his strongholds some twenty or twenty-five miles within the Waziri hills. Thither our contingent, with Suchet Singh at its head, quickly followed him. Our way led through ravines, and up along the bed of the Tank river, until we reached a considerable plain, in the centre of which stood the fort of Sarwarghur. However, we found that the Nawab had fled on to Ghuzni or Kabul the day before our arrival. We therefore quickly retraced our steps to Tank, and there annexed the whole of the principality ; but we certainly had considerable hard work and some severe fighting, both going to and returning from Sarwarghur. The Waziris crowned the heights on each side of us, and disputed every inch of the road.

The object for which we had been sent being, as far as practicable, effected, the whole force marched back to Lahore.

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1. Ranjit Singh, who became Maharaja of the Panjab, was born in the year 1780, and at the age of eleven succeeded his father as chief of one of the least important of the twelve confederacies which at the time composed the Sikh nation. One by one the confederacies fell before the talents and ambition of Ranjit Singh, who then turned his attention to those portions of the Panjab that were in possession of neighbouring rulers. Multan was captured in 1818, and Kashmir in the following year.

   The only Powers that the Maharaja now had cause to fear were the British and the Afghans, and with the object of facing them on equal terms Ranjit Singh set about the task of raising a large army, formed on the European system. With this object in view he gave employment to a considerable number of foreign officers, of whom the most important were Generals Ventura, Allard, Court, and Avitabile; Colonels Gardner and Van Cortlandt. The skill and tenacity with which the Sikh army fought the British in two desperate campaigns show with what success these officers and their assistants served Ranjit Singh.
2. Dr. Harlan was an American adventurer who obtained employment at different times under Ranjit Singh and Dost Muhammad. He was thoroughly unscrupulous and a man of considerable talent. His *Memoir of Afghanistan* is worth reading.
3. General Avitabile was governor of Wazirabad before he was made governor of Peshawar. He greatly beautified the town of Wazirabad.
4. General Ventura was an Italian officer of high character in the service of Ranjit Singh. He was much honoured and trusted by the Maharaja, and commanded the "Fouj Khas" or model brigade of the Khalsa army. General Ventura eventually became governor of Lahore.
5. General Court was a French officer of artillery, a most honourable and estimable man of considerable professional skill.
6. Commonly called "Kashmir" shawls.
7. This was the camp name of the "Fouj Khas," or model brigade.
8. General Allard was a French officer who died in Ranjit Singh's service.
9. Fakir Azizuddin, Foreign Minister to Maharaja Ranjit Singh, was a very remarkable man. He originally gained influence over the Maharaja by his skill as a physician, and subsequently impressed his master by the wisdom of his advice. Sir Lepel Griffin, the highest authority on Panjab history, considers Azizuddin to have been one of the ablest and certainly the most honest of all Ranjit Singh's courtiers. His brother Nuruddin was also much respected.
10. In the year 1205 the conqueror Muhammad Ghori was killed by the tribe of Ghakkars.
11. Sir Herbert Edwardes states in his *Life of Sir Henry Lawrence* that Gardner married a native wife, given him by Raja Dhyan Singh out of his own house.
12. Battle of Jamrud, April 30, 1837.
13. Brother of the Prime Minister, and subsequently Maharaja of Kashmir.
14. It will be seen that this brave young soldier was killed with Maharaja Nao Nihal Singh on the 6th November 1840.
15. Raja Suchet Singh was the third of the Jammu brothers, of whom Dhyan Singh and Gulab Singh have already been mentioned.

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CHAPTER 2

THE LION OF THE PANJAB

IN ADDITION to the foregoing record of his campaigns in the service of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, which was written by Colonel Gardner himself, and has been left, as far as possible, unaltered, I have found various disconnected anecdotes concerning the great Maharaja and Gardner's later master, Maharaja Gulab Singh of Jammu and Kashmir, which may amuse and possibly instruct the reader. They also are given in Gardner's own words.

The following description of the early days of the Khalsa army is of undoubted interest, and presents a vivid picture of the homely and simple dealings of Ranjit Singh with his soldiers :-

In the early part of Ranjit Singh's career there was no such thing as money payments. The soldiers received patches of land, and were called *puttidars*. It was considered ignoble to take money payment : a ready-money soldier was held in contempt. It was in 1809, when Lord Metcalfe, then a young political officer from Delhi, was deputed to Amritsar, that Ranjit Singh first set his keen eye upon disciplined and regular soldiery. It so happened that a dash at Metcalfe's encampment was made by some of the redoubted Akalis.[1] The small escort of red-coated *Purbias* rallied round Metcalfe, and so astonished the Akalis by their unwonted appearance and bold front that they turned and fled. Ranjit Singh was not slow to learn the lesson taught, and he looked about to find any one who could teach drill. One Drounkal Singh appeared, who proved to the Maharaja that he knew the bayonet exercise, &c., and was immediately empolyed by the Maharaja to make a commencement with some twenty or thirty men. The old troops took umbrage, and resented the innovation: the idea of money payments, too, was abhorrent. Ranjit Singh was not the man to be turned from his purpose. He used to favour the new men in every way—used to send for them in a morning, distribute food from his own table to them after their parades, with which he affected to be highly pleased, and administered *backshish* to each with his own hand. The sight of the money was too much for the remainder of the army, who now

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no longer held aloof from the new discipline and regular payment. Ranjit Singh attempted a further innovation in introducing the Sepoy cap instead of the turban : this the army would not stand, and mutinied. The Maharaja bided his time, and did not press the point. He had about 1200 Gurkhas in his camp.

Conspiracy against Gurkhas

Turning to the Sikhs, he said he would not force the caps on those of his own faith and nation, especially considering the inconvenience which the long hair they were obliged to wear might cause them: but ordered them to surround the Gurkhas when they went for their pay, and secure a promise from them that they would wear the caps. At this time the camp of the Maharaja was pitched on the great plain of Govindgarh, outside Amritsar. The sturdy little Gurkhas got wind of the conspiracy, and went for their pay with loaded muskets. On receiving their pay they commenced returning, and met three battalions of Sikhs marching down upon them, with the intention of which they had been forewarned. They halted and said, "Let us pass, or we open fire—we are armed and loaded: you would not wear the cap; no more will we." So far from the Sikhs carrying out the Maharaja's orders, they rushed up and embraced the Gurkhas, and a great fraternisation followed. Still Ranjit Singh, though obliged to overlook these acts, did not swerve from his purpose; and he managed to effect his end adroitly, by ordering the drill-instructor, Drounkal Singh, to wear the cap himself, and to enlist in future no recruit without previously taking agreement from him to wear it. This man, Drounkal Singh, afterwards became a colonel, and has descendants possessed of good property all over the country.

Great man though he undoubtedly was, it must be remembered that the Maharaja was quite uneducated. He looked upon his European officers as men of universal talents, and it was his regular habit to compel them to undertake duties in addition to those on which they were specially employed. Thus Avitabile and Ventura, originally engaged as military instructors, were appointed governors of provinces, but were still required to perform military duties ; Harlan, though nearly always empolyed in civil duties, held in addition the command of troops ; Honigberger, who was a doctor and nothing but a doctor, was compelled to superintend a gunpowder manufactory, and was pressed to accept a civil government.

The following anecdote, recorded by Colonel Gardner, tells of yet another profession that was once forced on General Ventura :-

Ranjit Singh's Paddle-Boat

Having heard of steamers, Ranjit Singh desired to have one ; and believing that a foreigner could do anything, asked General Ventura if

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he was a good blacksmith, and desired him, without waiting for a reply, to make him a steamer at once. The General protested, but it was as much as his position was worth. Ranjit Singh said he was a fool, and General Ventura promised to make one, and boldly asked for 40,000 rupees. He came to me and begged my aid. I read up all I could about paddle-boat building, and succeeded in turning out a wondrous sort of two-decked barge with paddle-wheels to be worked by hand. I may mention that when the 40,000 rupees were sent by the hands of the *bais* (the personal attendants of Ranjit Singh), they demanded 15,000 rupees out of it. We knew it was better not to murmur but to give it, as people of that sort were not to be offended. Ranjit Singh clapped his hands, as was his wont, in ecstasy with the boat, in the sides of the lower decks of which I had made port-holes which bristled with swivel-guns.

This boat was launched on Ravi, but with the utmost efforts of the exhausted wheel-turners would not go more than 10 yards or so up the stream. However, Ranjit Singh was delighted. I had built fore and aft cabins, and he filled them with nautch-girls, and there was a great *tamasha*. He sent us 20,000 rupees in addition, of which the *bais* took 5000 : the cost of the boat could not have been more than 2000. This was the first and only steamer built for the Sikh monarchy. Ranjit Singh was quite satisfied with the fact of the boat moving up the stream, however slowly, without sails or oars : he had equalled the achievements of the West in science, and that was all he desired. The picnic was not unaccompanied by strong drinks, and I received at the end of the celebration a further present of a shawl and 3000 rupees.

Maharaja Gulab Singh

Scarcely less interesting a figure than the great Maharaja himself was Maharaja Gulab Singh of Kashmir, into whose service Gardner finally passed after the death of Ranjit Singh. The following anecdote shows Gulab Singh in one of his more gentle moments, for, as is told in another place, he could be very terrible to his subjects when it seemed fit to him to strike terror into their hearts. "The utmost reverence and submission," says Gardner, "attended the invocation of his name."

"A travelling merchant had been robbed by three thieves, who had just completed their act of spoliation when their victim in despair uttered the cry, 'Dooai Maharaj!' (Succour, oh king !) Immediately on hearing these words the thieves reflected, and decided to restore all their booty. In doing so they stipulated that the merchant in return should never reveal the circumstance, and this he promised. Proceeding on his journey, he disposed of his property in the various markets, and faithless to his word, went straight to the Maharaja Gulab Singh and complained

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of having been robbed. As is usual in these dominions, a hue and cry was sent all over the country, and, as is almost invariably the result, the thieves were captured and brought before Gulab Singh. They admitted the robbery, but on being asked by his Highness if they had anything to plead in extenuation of the crime, they recounted the facts—how at the mere sound of the invocation of the Maharaja's name they had returned the booty, stipulating only for silence. On hearing this the Maharaja, who had taken the precaution of securing from the mouth of the complainant the list of property stolen, sent to the bazaars where the robbers declared the goods had been sold. They were produced ; the perfidy of the merchant was proved ; he was sentenced to lose his property, which was handed over to the robbers, who were pardoned. The purchase-money was restored to the buyers, and the merchant was thrown into prison for nine months.

"I was seated in durbar when this occurred.

"Gulab Singh used to enjoy a little opium occasionally, and his tongue never failed to become amusingly unloosened afterwards. Often when *nazars* were presented he used jokingly to return them. One day the *chaudri* (chief) of a very turbulent neighbourhood, called Deva Buttala, below Bhimbur, presented a rupee, which Gulab Singh returned with polite jocularity. Many a time had the incorrigible Deva Buttalaites received chastisement for their bold depredations. In such repute, indeed, was their character held, that recruits from this part were more in request than almost any other in the Panjab. The *chaudri* asked, in reply to repeated inquiries from Gulab Singh as to not only his own immediate personal welfare, but that of every one of his relations (and this with great affected interest), whether he might detail the exact truth. 'Go on,' says the Raja. 'Well,' rejoined he, 'there is no period of my mind when I suffered less anxiety, and was so completely at my ease !' 'How so ?' cries Gulab Singh. 'Why,' said the *chaudri*, 'I can now keep open house, for I have nothing in it to steal. Formerly I had the trouble of locking the door upon my cooking utensils, but I am spared all trouble now about thieves. For which I thank God,' said the *chaudri*, pretending gratitude to the Disposer of events. Gulab Singh was highly amused at the man's readiness, and gave him a quantity of brass cooking-pots, and 20 rupees, cautioning him to lock his door again.

"In those days a partriarchal simplicity obtained. With the advance of European ideas (call it civilisation if you will) a greater distance came to be observed between the sovereign and his subjects ; and the respectful familiarity on one side, and jocular condescension on the other, are not to be found except in remote tracts.

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"Gulab Singh had a knack of flattering and saying something personally pleasing to all who appeared at his durbars. One day he loaded a *chaudri* with the most fulsome compliments, till at last the elated recipient, affecting a look of artlessness, asked permission to say one word ('*urz kurna*'). 'By all means,' says the Raja. 'Unfortunately, sire, I forgot to bring my camels, horses, and mules here to carry away such a load of praises, and fortunately, too, as they must have sunk under the pleasing burden. Instead, have the kindness to give me something personally substantial, which although really inferior in value to your Highness's approbation, I could yet take away in my hand,' and he held it out. Gulab Singh and the whole durbar were delighted at the humour of the man ; 50 rupees were at once sent for, and a dress of honour, which the man carried off, and he was called always afterwards, '*the untwalla chaudri*' (the camel-*chaudri*).

"Gulab Singh used to go round and visit peasants' houses personally, and, often incognito, ask about their crops, pat their children, and make himself pleasant in a thousand ways, not forgetting to leave substantial tokens of his visit."

Character of Gulab Singh

The following study of Maharaja Gulab Singh, written by Gardner, and included by Colonel Carmichael Smyth in his *History of the Reigning Family of Lahore*, is worthy of perusal. It presents an interesting picture of that very remarkable statesman, missing only one trait—the intense pride taken by Gulab Singh in his very dubious descent from the ancient reigning family of Jammu— a pride which, in the opinion of that shrewd observer Sir Herbert Edwardes, was even more powerful than the avarice which seemed to most people Gulab Singh's guiding impulse :-

"The character of Gulab Singh in the early days of his power was one of the most repulsive it is possible to imagine.[2] Ambitious, avaricious, and cruel by nature, he reduced the exercise of his cruelty to a system for the promotion of the objects which his ambition and avarice led him to seek. He exercised the most ruthless barbarities, not in the heat of conflict or the flush of victory only, nor in the rage of an offended sovereign against rebellious subjects : he deliberately committed the most horrible atrocities for the purpose of investing his name with a terror that should keep down all thoughts of resistance to his sway.

"To turn to smaller traits ; he is an eater of opium, he tells long stories, offers little, promises less, but keeps his word; has a good memory, and is free and humorous with even the lowest and poorest class of his subjects. The partaker and companion of their toils and labours, seeming to be their diligent and careful instructor and father, their intimate village

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brother, their free, jocose, humorous neighbour, their constant visitor; yet, with all this, in reality a very leech, sucking their life's blood, the shameless trader of their sons and daughters; the would-be great merchant of the East, the very jack-of-all-trades, the usurer, the turn-penny, the briber, and the bribed. With all this he must be accounted the very best of soldiers, and, for an Asiatic and an uneducated man, he is an able, active, bold, and energetic, yet wise and prudent commander. He is anything but strong-headed and hot-blooded; prudently making slow, resolute, and judicious movements, thinking more of his resources, reserves, &c., than is the wont of Orientals. Looking more to the future and its wants and requisites than to the present or the past, slowly he proceeds, feeling his way as he advances, quick in taking advantages, relying much on his subtle political talent, and looking on arms as his last resource. In the field of battle he is self-composed, prudent, and watchful to the last degree; but at the breach, storm, or charge, he freely, though reluctantly, expends his men, while himself just the man to be at their head if required. Generally, however, he is the cool and able commander in the rear. "

REFERENCES

1. The Akalis were a fanatical band of Sikhs who corresponded to the Ghazis of Muhammadan nations.
2. It is a most remarkable circumstance that, in spite of the publication of Colonel Gardner's extremely candid account of Maharaja Gulab Singh 's character and career, the latter apparently felt no ill-will towards Gardner, but retained him permanently in his service.

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CHAPTER 3

INTRIGUE AND ANARCHY

MAHARAJA RANJIT SINGH died on the 27the June 1839, and in the words of Sir Lepel Griffin, the six years which followed were a period of storm and anarchy, in which assassination was the rule and the weak were ruthlessly trampled under foot. The kingdom founded in violence, treachery, and blood did not long survive its founder. Created by the military and administrative genius of one man, it crumbled into powder when the spirit which gave it life was withdrawn. The death of Ranjit Singh was, in fact, followed by a rapid succession of crimes and tragedies such as have rarely been paralleled in history, save in the darkest period of the downfall of Rome, or in the early days of the French Revolution.

Colonel Gardner thus tells the tale:-

In the old age of the Maharaja there was a person whom he especially took into favour, and whom he loved like a son from his birth. This was Hira Singh, the son of Raja Dhyan Singh. Ranjit Singh could hardly bear the boy to be out of his sight, and he from infancy was sedulously taught to call the monarch *taba* (papa). As Hira Singh approached manhood the army also yielded its affection to the Maharaja's favourite, and so it came about that this senile love of the old Maharaja, aided by the inclination of the powerful army, suggested a dream of greatness to his uncles the Dogra brothers, and led to the successive deeds of violence by which it seemed to them that their ambitious design might be gratified. This dream was that Hira Singh, the heir of their family, or at least the most promising of its rising generation, might eventually succeed to the throne of Ranjit Singh. Those to be swept away were the male members of the Maharaja's family, and all those ministers, advisers, and chiefs who would not join the Dogra party.

Dogra Brothers' Ambitious Design

A glance at the table (*Appendix-IV*) will show that in the course of a very few years this programme was carried out in all its essential features;

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and I will now relate how it was that all these murders were brought about directly or indirectly by the Dogra brothers, Dhyan Singh and Gulab Singh, for the eventual aggrandisement of their family in the person of Hira Singh. The two brothers played the awful game with deliberate and unswerving pertinacity, and the narrative will explain how their schemes were carried out, and how Dhyan Singh and Hira Singh were themselves overwhelmed in the torrent of blood which they had caused to flow. When Ranjit Singh's death opened to them the field of action, the veil of futurity hid these events from their eyes : their only thought was that the way to the throne had to be cleared of all obstacles, and at the same time an outward show of fealty to the Khalsa, and of loyalty to the sovereign line of succession, had to be maintained. The slightest suspicion might have been fatal, yet prompt action seemed to be the least dangerous course, and the first blow fell quickly.

Ranjit Singh when on his deathbed summoned to him his only legitimate son, Shahzada Kharrak Singh, and proclaimed him his heir, with Raja Dhyan Singh as Minister. Now Kharrak Singh was a blockhead, and a slave to opium : at the time of his accession to the throne of Lahore he passed his whole time in a state of stupefaction. His chief adviser was a *sardar* named Chet Singh, and this man had the courage to set himself forward as a rival to the all-powerful Dhyan Singh, and was also so rash as to make known his intention of having the Minister assassinated. Matters came to a climax in October 1839, but little more than three months after Ranjit Singh's death ; and being, as I was, the commandant of Raja Dhyan Singh's artillery, and high in his confidence, I was closely connected with the events which I am about to describe.

Ultimatum to Dhyan Singh

It must be remembered that Dhyan Singh and his brothers had been created Rajas by Ranjit Singh, and that in the latter years of his reign they had become nearly independent, gratitude and the additional power that Dhyan Singh's office of *wazir* conferred upon them being the links that bound them to the service of their old master and benefactor. After his death they became entirely independent, and maintained a large force of troops of their own race (Dogras).[1] Sardar Chet Singh, the chief adviser of the new Maharaja, endeavoured to obtain the support of General Ventura and the other foreign officers, and was aided by the ill-feeling which had long existed between Ventura and the Minister. By the 8th October things had reached such a pitch that the murder of the whole Dogra family had been decided on, and Chet Singh was rash enough to

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say in durbar to Dhyan Singh, "See what will become of you in twenty-four hours."

Raja Dhyan Singh, who was a man of inflexible resolution and imperturbable serenity of demeanour, smiled politely and replied, "Your humble servant, sir ; we *shall* see." He had for some time past prepared the way for his intended action by spreading rumours that Chet Singh was a traitor, and in the pay of the British Government. As such rumours gain credence in proportion as they are detailed and minute, he noised it abroad that Chet Singh had engaged to place the Panjab under the protection of the British, to pay 6 annas in every rupee of revenue to them, to disband the Khalsa army, and to turn all the *sardars* out of their command.

Time to Move

The time to move had now arrived, and Dhyan Singh betook himself as soon as the durbar was over to the zenana of Kharrak Singh (to which he had the right of admission by favour of the late Maharaja), and secured an interview with the Maharani, the mother of Prince Nao Nihal Singh. This lady was well aware of the weakness of her husband, and Dhyan Singh easily persuaded her that the success of Chet Singh would result in the entire supremacy of that *sardar* and the foreign officers, and the reduction of the royal family to a cipher. Prince Nao Nihal Singh was at this time a spirited, ambitious youth of eighteen years of age, the only descendant of Ranjit Singh who showed character and ability. His wife was summoned to the secret conclave in the zenana, and subsequently the prince himself was called in. It was agreed that none could be more devoted to the family of Ranjit Singh than the Dogra brothers, and that the only obstacle to general tranquillity was the traitor Chet Singh. The arrangements decided on were the death of the latter, the retirement of Kharrak Singh from active public life, for which neither his inclinations nor his mental endowments fitted him, and the regency of his son, Nao Nihal Singh. The prince fully and cheerfully agreed to a programme which was to lead to his aggrandisement.

The next step was to ascertain the feelings of the Sikh *sardars* of the French brigade. Dhyan Singh found them entirely with him, and secured a promise of their co-operation. Lastly, the concert of the powerful Sindhanwalia family was necessary. Chet Singh, prompted by General Ventura, had already sought alliance with them, assuring them that the Dogra family were in correspondence with the British with a view to the disinheritance of Ranjit Singh's descendants and their own elevation to power. Raja Dhyan Singh's policy—viz., placing Nao Nihal Singh on

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the throne—was sufficient answer to any doubts the Sindhanwalias might have felt as to the loyalty of the Dogra family, and their aid was at once promised.

Finally, Dhyan Singh gave instructions to the army, which was now completely at his orders, to remain perfectly quiet all night. I received orders that loaded guns were to be placed at nightfall at all the gates of the palace, and that whatever occurred, whatever thunders there might be at the gates, every one was to feign sleep. Raja Dhyan Singh asked me if I would like to accompany him, and of course I accepted the invitation. The party consisted of about fifteen : the three Raja brothers—Gulab Singh, Dhyan Singh, and Suchet Singh—in addition to Prince Nao Nihal Singh ; then came the heads of the Sindhanwalia family, then two trusty noblemen called Rao Lal Singh and Rao Keshur Singh, and myself. The ladies of the zenana had promised to leave us free entrance to the building where the Maharaja and his Minister slept.

First Casualty at Midnight

It was near midnight when we entered the palace, and no sooner we left the gate through which we had been admitted than a voice accosted us, "Who is it ?" Dhyan Singh replied, "The Maharaja goes tomorrow to bathe at Amritsar, and we are to make the necessary preparations." This was the concerted answer. We reached another and inner gate, which noiselessly opened on a whispered order from Dhyan Singh. Without uttering a whisper, we stealthily crept our way in the dark up a flight of stairs, over a place called the Badshah-i-Takht, and thence to the immediate vicinity of the royal apartment. Here Gulab Singh and Dhyan Singh held a whispered consultation, the purport of which I could not catch. At this moment a man started up, and seeing us, called out and tried to run off. Suchet Singh shot him dead, and was himself instantly almost knocked down by a tremendous cuff on the ear dealt him by his brother, Gulab Singh, who cursed him under his breath for his imprudence.

On looking over a parapet we saw two companies of the Maharaja's guard. Dhyan Singh quickly went down the staircase to the place where they were stationed, and was accosted by the subadar in command, who said, "Why did you fire ?" I had followed Dhyan Singh, and stood immediately behind him. He simply showed his right hand (on which he had two thumbs) and put his finger to his lips. On seeing the well-known peculiarity the subadar whispered, "Lie down," and the whole of the two companies noiselessly lay down at full length and pretended sleep. The subadar then pointed with a mute gesture to the room of the doomed man, the door of which had been left ajar. There was a light in the room.

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Dhyan Singh approached and entered it, followed by the whole party. Lo! there sat Maharaja Kharrak Singh on his bed washing his teeth. The adjoining bed, which belonged to Chet Singh, was empty. When asked where his Minister was, Kharrak Singh simply replied that he had gone out on hearing a shot fired.

Perceiving a fierce sort of half smile light up the faces of the Dogra brothers, he begged that Chet Singh's life might be spared, and would have proved very restive had not his own son and some four or five Sikhs held him down while we proceeded in search of the fugitive. Two torches had to be lit, and on entering the room where we expected to find the Minister it appeared to be empty : it was very long and narrow. Lal Singh, however, called out that he saw the glitter of a sword in one corner, and there cowered the wretched man, his hand upon his sword. We were armed only with daggers. The eyes of Dhyan Singh seemed to shoot fire as his gaze alighted and fixed itself on his deadly foe. Gulab Singh was for interposing to do the deed of blood himself, fearing for his brother (who was a short man) in the desperate defence he counted on; but Dhyan Singh roughly shook him off, and, dagger in hand, slowly advancing towards his enemy, said, "The twenty-four hours you were courteous enough to mention to me have not yet elapsed." Then with the spring of a tiger the successful counter-plotter dashed at his enemy and plunged his dagger into his heart, crying out, "Take this in memory of Ranjit Singh." Dhyan Singh then turned round to his party, his face radiant with gratified purpose, and courteously thanked us for our aid.

Sensation of Relief

We then, in token that this was entirely a State proceeding, prostrated ourselves at the feet of Maharaja Kharrak Singh, and subsequently at the feet of his son, Nao Nihal Singh. The latter had been most actively and fully occupied in trying to pacify his father, whose rage was uncontrollable. It was only by the intercessions, prayers, and explanations of the Maharani and the other ladies of zenana, added to those of his son, that he could be brought to understand the political necessity of the doom that had been meted out. The night's work done, we all returned quietly to our camps. A general sensation of relief was felt on all hands at the death of Chet Singh : not the slightest animosity was awakened by it, and the opinion was openly breathed by all, "Now all will go straight."

Chet Singh having been dealt with, the Dogra brothers turned their attention to Maharaja Kharrak Singh, and experienced no difficulty in removing him from their path, aided as they were by the ambition of his

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son, Prince Nao Nihal Singh. Immediately after the death of Sardar Chet Singh, Kharrak Singh was deposed. His actual reign had been limited to a few months, and he was not long permitted to survive its termination. It is stated that the deposed Maharaja lingered for some nine months after his deposition, during which period he was gradually poisoned by his physicians, with the connivance of his son and successor. Kharrak Singh cherished the greatest affection for this unnatural son, and in the agony of death called for Nao Nihal Singh in order to pardon him : the young prince, however, visited his father once only during his long illness, and that on the day before his death, and even then treated him with the greatest brutality and insolence. The next day, November 5, 1840, Kharrak Singh breathed his last at the early age of thirty-eight.

Accident or Murder ?

The vengeance of Heaven soon fell on Maharaja Nao Nihal Singh. On the day following Kharrak Singh's death his body was burnt in accordance with the Sikh custom, and two of his Ranis and eleven of his slave-girls were burnt with him. The new Maharaja stood for a time by the blazing pile, which had been erected in the open space opposite the mausoleum of Ranjit Singh ; but, either ill or impatient, he would not remain as etiquette demanded until his father's body had been consumed by the flames, but went to a bathing-place about 120 yards away to perform the ceremony of ablution. He was attended by the whole Court, and five elephants were in waiting ; but as it would have been considered irreverent for him to ride past the funeral-pile on his return, the elephants were sent back to wait at a little distance. I was present at the commencement of the ceremony of cremation of Maharaja Kharrak Singh, and when the torch was applied was standing close by in attendance on Raja Dhyan Singh. Before the new Maharaja left the spot I was directed by Dhyan Singh to go and bring forty of my artillerymen in their fatigue dress: I was not told, nor have I ever ascertained, what they were wanted for. When I returned, the catastrophe had just occurred.

Maharaja Nao Nihal Singh had passed through an archway on his return from bathing, and just before entering it he took the hand of his constant companion Udam Singh, the eldest son of Raja Gulab Singh : the two young men entered the archway together. As they emerged from it a crash was heard; beams, stones, and tiles fell from above, and the Maharaja and Udam Singh were struck to the ground. The latter was killed on the spot, and Nao Nihal Singh was struck to the earth. He was injured in the head, but presently attempted to rise, and cried out for water. The Prime Minister rushed up, and, it is said, pushed aside the

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dead body of his own nephew, reserving all his devotion and care for the young king. Nao Nihal Singh was carried into the palace, the doors were closed, and admission denied to all. Several of the principal *sardars* begged to see the Maharaja, among them the Sindhanwalias, relations of the royal family : in vain did Nao Nihal Singh's mother, in a paroxysm of rage and anxiety, come and beat the fort gates with her own hands—admittance even to the fort there was none, still less into the Maharaja's apartment. None of the female inmates, not even his wives, were suffered to see him.

The palki-bearers who had carried Nao Nihal Singh to his palace were sent to their homes; they were servants in my own camp of artillery, and were five in number. Two were afterwards privately put to death, two escaped into Hindustan, the fate of the fifth is unknown to me. One of the palki-bearers afterwards affirmed that when the prince was put into the palki, and when he was assisting to put him there, he saw that above the right ear there was a wound which bled so slightly as only to cause a blotch of blood about the size of a rupee on the pillow or cloth on which Nao Nihal Singh's head rested while in the palki. Now it is a curious fact that when the room was opened, in which his corpse was first exposed by Dhyan Singh, blood in great quantities, both in fluid and coagulated pools, was found around the head of the cloth on which the body lay. Be this as it may, when the doors were thrown open the Sindhanwalias found the young Maharaja dead, Dhyan Singh prostrate in affliction on the ground, and Fakir Nuruddin, the royal physician, lamenting that all remedies had been useless.[2]

Thus perished Maharaja Nao Nihal Singh on the day following the death of his father.

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1. "The Dogras are a branch of the Aryan invaders of India who settled in the hill country between the Panjab and the Himalayas....They are divided into castes, and the Dogra Rajputs (who rank next to the Brahmans) rose to power with the brothers Dhyan Singh and Gulab Singh, and are a ruling and fighting caste.... Jammu is about the centre, as it is the capital of the country of the Dogras."—Drew's *Northern Barrier of India.*
2. It was at the time commonly believed that the death of Nao Nihal Singh was brought about by the Dogra brothers, but it is at least equally probable that it really resulted from an accident. Syad Muhammad Latif, the author of *The History of the Panjab*, points out very sensibly that had the fall of the parapet been foreseen, some other companion than Udam Singh would have been chosen for the doomed prince. Dhyan Singh himself also appears to have narrowly escaped being crushed, his arm being severely contused. This certainly points to an accident.

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CHAPTER 4

THE DEFENCE OF LAHORE

WITH NAO NIHAL SINGH expired the legitimate line of Ranjit Singh. All that remained to thwart the ambition of the Dogra brothers were Sher Singh and the other princes whom Ranjit Singh had from time to time, for reasons of his own, chosen to acknowledge.

Sher Singh, the eldest of the princes, was very popular with the army, and would in ordinary course have now succeeded to the throne ; but to further their deep-laid plot, the Dogra family set up a rival claimant in the person of Maharani Chand Kour. This lady was the widow of Kharrak Singh and mother of Nao Nihal Singh, and she based her claim to the throne on the assertion that a widow of Nao Nihal Singh would in due time give birth to an heir. Chand Kour claimed the regency of the kingdom pending the birth of her grandchild, and her pretensions were by no means without the support of precedent among the Sikhs. Still further to complicate matters, and with the intention of eventually destroying both claimants, the Dogra family now pretended to be divided among themselves. Raja Gulab Singh and his nephew Hira Singh espoused the cause of the queen, while Raja Dhyan Singh declared for the party of Sher Singh who assumed the title of Maharaja.

Sher Singh Marches on Lahore

Sher Singh remained for a time at his estate of Batala, but by the end of the year considered himself strong enough to assert his claim, and marched on Lahore at the head of a small body of troops. This took place early in the month of January 1841, and on the approach of Sher Singh, Chand Kour, Gulab Singh, and Hira Singh threw themselves into the fortress of Lahore. The Dogra troops of Gulab Singh were on this occasion all placed under my immediate orders, but in the event of a battle it was arranged that Gulab Singh himself should take supreme command, while I should devote myself to my especial charge, the artillery. Until the actual fighting commenced Gulab Singh could better aid our side by giving his full attention to diplomacy. I must mention that Dhyan Singh

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did not accompany Sher Singh to Lahore, but withdrew for a time to Jammu, the capital of the Dogra dominions.

On approaching Lahore Sher Singh summoned the whole Khalsa army to join him, and in his proclamation made use of a traditional Panjabi expression, which may be translated "five brothers." The meaning of this term was that every soldier was to take four relations with him on the campaign, to share in the pillage that would ensue. Such was the ancient custom of the Khalsa army, and the magnitude of the assembly on this occasion may be imagined : to the very horizon the plains and the hills were one blaze of camp-fires. To strengthen his influence with the army Sher Singh made great concessions to them, giving them leave to execute lynch-law, and do all that they thought fit for their private enemies. To this flagrant weakness may be attributed the mutinies and violence which occurred during Sher Singh's reign, and particularly the atrocities inflicted on the detested pay officials.

I should mention that previous to our throwing ourselves into the fort of Lahore, Gulab Singh's Dogra troops, under my command, were encamped at Shadera, across the Ravi. We had been casting guns in the garden there, and those guns which were unfinished I buried before moving into Lahore. They were not discovered. The situation was critical. At the utmost our force did not exceed 3000 men, and against us were probably not less than 150,000 men, with 200 pieces of artillery, encamped on the plain of Mian Mir.

Determination to Defend

The revolution had awoke the country, and was about to sift the husks from the wheat—separate the good and bad; and the whole Manjha[1] was astir. Gulab Singh knew well that the troops had been bought over, but adhered bravely to his determination to defend the Maharani to the last. Being of an acquisitive turn of mind, no doubt the fact that the "Koh-i-nur" and the whole of the State treasury were in the fort had due weight with him. The army and the population, which flocked in hundreds of thousands, were eager for plunder. The first thing to be done was to see whether the Sikh *sardars* were with us. All swore heartily to be faithful ; and Tej Singh was the most fervent in his protestations of loyalty. Now the city guard was composed of portions of the regular army ; Dogras only held the fort. A largesse of two lakhs of rupees was distributed among the city guard in order to secure their fidelity. Every preparation for the crisis was made that ingenuity could devise, and for two days we were hard at work but still there came no move on the part of Sher Singh.

At last on January 13th one of the most tremendous roars that ever rose from a concourse of human beings drowned our voices, distant as it

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was, and warned us that the man had arrived. Sher Singh had indeed come, and planted his flag and pitched his camp on the high mound called "Budha ka awa." The whole of his troops then thundered a salute, which continued for two hours, amid shouts of "Sher Singh Badshah ! Dhyan Singh Wazir ! death to Chand Kour and the Dogras !" We were shut up in the fort, and two days elapsed amid the most portentous buzz of voices from the moat outside, while Sher Singh made preparations for attack. My women and all the others, excepting the queen, had been hidden previously in disguise in various parts of the city. Another deafening salute, which lasted for more than an hour, announced to us that Sher Singh had been enthroned by the army, and that obeisance was being made by the commanding officers. The poor queen was so sick with terror at the uproar made, no doubt to overawe us, that she caused another lakh of rupees to be given hurriedly to the doubtful city troops of the regular army, who held the gates of the city. With the hour, as, I must say, is ever the case in critical periods, came the man ; and nothing could surpass the calmness, the forethought, the activity, and the mental resource of Gulab Singh, or his sedulous consideration for the terrified queen. His determination never failed him. He had a knack of seizing occasion for action with such rapidity of vision, combined with such immutability of purpose, that those of his actions that appeared most questionable were justified by the bright results by which they were always attended. Every *sardar* solemnly swore fealty again on the Guru Granth.[2]

We had blocked the archways leading to two gates of the fort with carts and waggons, and had planted two guns loaded to the muzzle with grape at each of the upper forts, Dogra soldiers lining the parapets of the walls above. The night after Sher Singh's investment passed in comparative silence, which to us was as full of portent as the former noise. Resistance, indeed, seemed useless in the teeth of such odds. As the morning dawned the whole army arose and surrounded the city. Every gate was immediately opened to them by the soldiers, who, having pocketed three lakhs from the queen, had made an equally profitable bargain with Sher Singh. Destruction stared us in the face : we had red-hot cannon-balls ready to blow ourselves and the whole city into the air, if the worst came to the worst. Two heavy siege-trains of forty guns each were laid against the fort, while no less than eighty horse-artillery pieces were drawn up on the broad road immediately in front of us on the city side, which position they were peaceably allowed to take up by the treacherous troops.

Gulab Singh Summoned to Surrender

The tops of the minarets of the Badshahi mosque swarmed with

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marksmen, who fired direct into the interior of the fort. General Sultan Muhammad and Imam Shah commanded respectively the right and left wings of the army. As with the city troops, so with the *sardars*, especially the important Sindhanwalias, all forsook us. The treachery of Tej Singh was so conspicuously and pointedly base, he having prayed us to leave the gates of the upper fort open for the *sardars*, that we all swore to a man to kill him if fate put him in our way. The gates of the outer wall leading into the Hazuri Bagh having been opened, Sher Singh entered in person and took shelter in a *tykhana*.[3] Gulab Singh was now summoned to surrender. Every moment we expected to see the spark of a port-fire and to hear the crash of the cannonade. Gulab Singh's keen eyes peered anxiously through the openings : still there was no noise, and not a musket fired. I then sidled down the archway to look through the chink of the Hazuri Bagh gate, which I had blocked up with carts, and saw fourteen guns deliberately loaded, planted within 20 yards, and aimed straight at the gate.

The Dogras on the walls began to look over, and were jeered at by Sher Singh's troops. The little fort was surrounded by a sea of human heads. Gulab Singh made contemptuous replies, and roared out to Sher Singh, demanding that he should surrender. There was a brief but breathless pause, and I had not time to warn my artillerymen to clear out of the way when down came the gates over our party, torn to shreds by the simultaneous discharge of all the fourteen guns. Seventeen of my party were blown to pieces, part of the bodies flying over me. When I had wiped the blood and brains from my face, and could recover a moment, I saw only one little trembling *Klasi*. I hurriedly asked him for a port-fire, having lost mine in the fall of the ruins. He had just time to hand it to me, and I had crept under my two guns, when with a wild yell some 300 Akalis swept up the Hazuri Bagh and crowded into the gate. They were packed as close as fish, and could hardly move over the heaps of wood and stone, the rubbish and the carts, with which the gateway was blocked. Just at that moment, when the crowd were rushing on us, their swords high in the air, I managed to fire the ten guns, and literally blew them into the air. In the pause which followed I loaded the guns with the aid of the three of my artillerymen who survived, and our next discharge swept away the hostile artillerymen who were at the fourteen guns outside, who had remained standing perfectly paralysed by the destruction of the Akalis.

Flight of Sher Singh

Then Sher Singh fled, and grievous carnage commenced. The Dogras, always excellent marksmen, seemed that day not to miss a man

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from the walls. The whole of the artillerymen round the field-pieces in front of us strewed the ground. In the Hazuri Bagh we counted the bodies of no less than 2800 soldiers, 200 artillerymen, and 180 horses. And now the whole park of artillery opened upon us that day, and for the three days following, tearing the walls of the fort to rags. They mounted their heavy guns on high houses, the walls of which they pierced to command the fort. Many a time did Sher Singh attempt a parley; but Gulab Singh knew his countrymen too well to believe any protestations. He said, "Wait until Dhyan Singh comes." At last that noble Minister did arrive, furious, as it seemed, with Sher Singh for his rashness ; and after protracted delay, the firing on both sides was finally subdued. Our bombardment was over, and the brothers arranged terms of peace. Our little force was to quit the fort with honour, and betake itself to the old encampment on the other side of the river. It was decided that while Chand Kour should be recognised as titular head of the State, and as such should receive a personal allowance of twenty lakhs of rupees per annum, the posture of public affairs and the temper of the army were such that a man was required as king. Sher Singh was therefore chosen Badshah, and Raja Dhyan Singh kept his original place as Wazir and War Minister.

Gulab Singh gets away with Treasure

Dhyan Singh then arranged for an interview between his brother and the new monarch. During the siege we had been up to our knees in State jewels and gold mohurs; but as our lives were not worth a moment's purchase, no one had possessed himself of aught. Gulab Singh, however, had secured the "Koh-i-nur" about his person. (Chand Kour would have swallowed it if she had got hold of it.) And now came a masterpiece of acting on the part of Gulab Singh. He presented the "Koh-i-nur" with much *empressement* to the reigning sovereign, and took great credit for saving the royal property. In return he obtained a firman for twenty lakhs' worth of villages west of Bhimbur, and was recognised as guardian of the Maharani Chand Kour. He had not, however, lost the opportunity of securing about two millions of treasure in his honourable hands from the fort, which spoil was securely conveyed to Jammu.

Thus ended the memorable defence of the fortress of Lahore. The poor Maharani did not long survive, dying a miserable death by the hands of slave-girls, bribed by Sher Singh, who dropped a great flagstone on her head while she was lying in her bath. This brutal act incensed the Dogra brothers ; but they were pacified by the reversion of the landed property of the murdered queen, which property is in the possession of their family.

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Thus on the 18th January 1841 Sher Singh became Maharaja indeed, and for the space of a year and a half nothing of great importance befell him. He was brought into close connection with the British, owing to the course of the Afghan war, and gave free passage to their troops through his dominions, thus carrying out the policy of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. His army, however, got more and more out of hand, and Sher Singh strove in vain to lay the spirit of insubordination which his unwise concessions had aroused. Murders of commandants and other officers constantly occurred, and the sound advice of Dhyan Singh was rejected by the infatuated Maharaja, who passed his time in drinking-bouts and every debauchery.

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1. "The Manjha" was, strictly speaking, the country in the neighbourhood of the cities of Lahore and Amritsar; but the term had a wider significance, and was used to distinguish the Sikhs who lived north of the Sutlej from the "Malwa" Sikhs, who lived south of that river. The Malwa Sikhs preserved themselves from coming under the sway of Ranjit Singh by placing themselves under British protection.
2. The sacred book of the Sikhs.
3. Underground room.
4. "Akalis," literally "Immortals," the fanatical Sikhs, corresponding to "Ghazis."

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CHAPTER 5

HORROR ON HORROR'S HEAD

THE MONTH of January 1842 was disastrous to the British, for of a large force which was compelled to leave Kabul on the 6th of that month but one single man reached the city of Jalalabad, where a garrison under Sir Robert Sale with difficulty held its own. The few survivors of the Kabul force were prisoners in the hands of Muhammad Akbar Khan, the son of Dost Muhammad.

Shortly before this time Maharaja Sher Singh, who was a staunch supporter of the British, ordered the Dogra force, of some 10,000 men, to proceed to Peshawar, and appointed Raja Gulab Singh governor of that province in the room of General Avitabile, who shared in the unpopularity of Ranjit Singh's old foreign officers. I accompanied the Dogra troops in my capacity of commandant of artillery.

It is recorded in history that General Wild, who commanded the first body of troops, hurried up through the Panjab on the news of the disasters of Kabul, was delayed at Peshawar, and rendered unable to advance through the Khaibar Pass to reinforce Sale's beleaguered garrison of Jalalabad ; but it is perhaps reserved for me to explain clearly how this was brought about.

It was on this occasion that I was first brought in contact with Sir Henry Lawrence, then a young "political" officer.[1] I have often since expressed my admiration of that great and good man, and of the tact and ability he brought to bear on his political duties.

The Dogra force was encamped on the west bank of the Indus, and Gulab Singh obviously had no wish to go to Peshawar in accordance with his orders. Under the pretext that his rear was threatened, he sent frequent messages by myself and others to Peshawar to say that he was unable to advance thither. Meanwhile I was aware that he was receiving daily letters from Kabul. He was, indeed, in constant communication with Muhammad Akbar Khan. These messages were brought by men whom Gulab Singh used to represent as paupers and refugees.

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One day an English doctor in the disguise of a Pathan came into camp, requesting aid, in the shape of boats, from Gulab Singh. This assistance was promised, and the doctor departed to Brigadier Wild's camp. Directly he had gone Gulab Singh sent me and another commandant in his confidence (who, like myself, was intimately acquainted with the Yusufzai country and people), and directed us to go all along the Indus and conceal every boat we could lay hands on. He pretended that these boats were required for his own force, and for great British reinforcements coming up in rear. Thus the army of succour of the unfortunate Wild, who was making every effort to get on, was delayed for ten days at Attock instead of two, and in that period the destruction of the army at Kabul was consummated. At last Wild got across, and Gulab Singh then took charge of the ferry at Attock.

Daily rumours of disasters at Kabul arrived, and news now came, to add to the confusion, that the whole Sikh garrison of Peshawar was in open rebellion.

Over and over again did Lawrence write to Gulab Singh, who returned him no answer. The road from Peshawar to Attock, moreover, was beleaguered by mutinous troops.

One day I heard that a sahib had come into camp, and seeing one or two persons under a tree, I went forward and found Lawrence dressed, not very successfully, as a Pathan. He had had the courage to travel right through the Yusufzai country, had crossed the river at a dangerous place (Bazar-ka-patan), and here he was in the midst of the camp asking for Gulab Singh. That astute chief at once ordered large tents to be prepared for the British official, gave him a warm reception, and declared that he had written at least five times a-day, and that his notes must have been intercepted. Lawrence was then closeted two hours with Gulab Singh, and I could see at once on the close of the interview that the wonderful tact of the rising "political" had prevailed, and that he was master of the situation.

Bad News All

It was amusing to listen to the verbal fence of the two when I was admitted into the audience-tent. Lawrence had got some valuable news from down country, and he was well aware that Gulab Singh's direct news from Kabul would be of the greatest interest to the British. He jocularly offered to swap news. Gulab Singh laughed and agreed. "Give and take," said he ; "let it be fair barter : you tell the truth, and so will I."

The bargain was struck, and Lawrence led off by telling Gulab Singh that his expedition to Tibet had utterly failed, and that his agent,

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Wazir Zorawar Singh, with 9000 soldiers, had been cut off nearly to a man.

"I also have some news," said Gulab Singh in his turn, and then told Lawrence the horrid truth that all was over with the British at Kabul, and that Akbar Khan was pressing Jalalabad with terrific vigour. Lawrence, shocked at the intelligence, demanded proofs, when the two retired once more to a private conference, and Gulab Singh showed him the letter he had received.[2]

The story of General Pollock's advance to Kabul, and of the subsequent withdrawal of the English army from Afghanistan, need not here be related : suffice it to say that, thanks in a great measure to Sir Henry Lawrence, the Sikh troops of Maharaja Sher Singh took a fair share in the operations. At the conclusion of the war a grand review of the British and Sikh armies took place at Ferozepur, and it was on this occasion that Prince Partab Singh, the heir-apparent, won so much favour with Lord Ellenborough and the English officers.

Recommencement of Intrigues

In February 1843 Dost Muhammad Khan, having been released from his captivity in India, returned to Kabul by way of Lahore, where he contracted a treaty of alliance with the durbar. Soon after this the intrigues and jealousies between the Sindhanwalias and Raja Dhyan Singh recommenced, and eventually cost all of them, and Maharaja Sher Singh, their lives.

The principal Sindhanwalia *sardars* were named Attar Singh and Lehna Singh (who were brothers), and Ajit Singh, who was nephew to both of them.

These *sardars* were very powerful, and had exceptional influence on account of their relationship to Maharaja Ranjit Singh. They had left the Panjab for a time after Sher Singh's accession to the throne, but now returned, and were apparently on friendly tems with the Maharaja. Attar Singh, however, distrusted both Sher Singh and Dhyan Singh, and retired to his estates, leaving his brother and nephew to carry on the war.

For a time there was great familiarity between Lehna Singh, Ajit Singh, and the Maharaja, and the three frequently caroused together. Maharaja Sher Singh passed most of his time at his favourite house, known as Shah Bilawal, and here on September 15, 1843, the tragedy occurred.

Wholesale Murders

An inspection of certain soldiers, for whom the Sindhanwalias desired to receive a *jagir*, was fixed to take place on this day, and in the morning the soldiers were marshalled in brilliant array. The Maharaja, however, did not inspect them at the appointed time, and Lehna Singh

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and Ajit Singh consequently went to him and reproached him in a jocular manner for keeping them waiting. They were each armed with a magnificent new double-barrelled gun. Seating themselves opposite Maharaja Sher Singh, they asked for a *jagir*. He replied, "By-and-bye," and stretched out his hand for Ajit Singh's gun, which he wished to look at. Ajit Singh affected to hand it to him, but brought the muzzle to bear on his breast, pulled the triggers, and lodged the contents in his body. Two cuts of a sword finally ended the career of Maharaja Sher Singh.

Not content with this murder, Ajit Singh went into the inner apartments and cut down Partab Singh, the pretty little son of Sher Singh. Partab Singh ran up to Ajit Singh and knelt before him, calling him "uncle[3]" The brutal Ajit Singh, hot with the blood which already dyed his hand, then penetrated into the harem of Sher Singh, and murdered all the Maharaja's women—one under circumstances of peculiar atrocity, for she was on the eve of giving birth to an infant.

With that strange foreboding which seems to attend the coming of terrible events, there was a general uneasiness in the air. I for one was on the alert directly I heard the shots fired, and went at once to find Dhyan Singh, who had already gone to see Maharaja Sher Singh in consequence of some dark rumours which had reached him. He found Ajit Singh fresh from his deeds of blood and half-way on his return journey to Lahore. Dhyan Singh turned and accompanied Ajit Singh, and the Sindhanwalias said to him, "What is done cannot be undone. Dulip Singh must now be Maharaja." This was in accordance with Dhyan Singh's views, and all seemed quiet for a few minutes, though he was uneasy at finding himself surrounded by Ajit Singh's followers. On arriving at the outer gate of the fortress they entered together, but at the inner gate all but a very few of the Minister's attendants were excluded.

Murder of Dhyan Singh

Presently Ajit Singh drew Raja Dhyan Singh's attention to some men on the parapet of the fort, shot him in the back, and despatched him with a sword. Thus perished the wise and brave Dhyan Singh, whose fall was deplored by the whole army: but it was avenged, and that quickly.

Grief and fury seized the troops. The Sindhanwalias endeavoured to come to terms with Hira Singh and Suchet Singh, the son and brother of the murdered Minister, but they knew better than to trust them. Hira Singh enflamed the rage of the army by fervent appeals, and excited their cupidity by lavish promises of money. The excitement was wound up to frenzy by the conduct of the young and exquisitely lovely wife of Dhyan Singh, the daughter of the Rajput chief of Pathankot. This lady vowed

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that she would not become *sati* until she had the heads of Lehna Singh and Ajit Singh. I myself laid their heads at the feet of Dhyan Singh's corpse that evening.

The Sindhanwalias attempted to defend the fort, but in a feeble manner at first. Forty thousand men attacked them, and they saw that all was lost. When, however, the wall was breached, and death became imminent, they fought with desperation and inflicted heavy loss on the army. Ajit Singh and Lehna Singh were killed with no more mercy than they had shown, and Raja Dhyan Singh was avenged.

The *sati* of his widow then took place, and seldom, if ever, have I been so powerfully affected as at the self-immolation of the gentle and lovely girl, whose love for her husband passed all bounds. During the day, while inciting the army to avenge her husband's murder, she had appeared in public before the soldiers, discarding the seclusion of a lifetime. When his murderers had been slain she gave directions as to the disposition of his property with a stoicism and self-possession to which no one beside her could lay claim : she thanked her brave avengers, and declared that she would tell of their good deeds to her husband when in heaven. There was nothing left for her, she said, but to join him.

Great efforts were made among the assembly to prevent the sacrifice of a sweet little maiden of nine or ten years of age who had been passionately attached to the murdered Raja. When not allowed to get upon the pyre, she vowed she would not live, slipped from the hands of those who would hold her, rushed to the battlements of the city, and threw herself from them. We picked her up more dead than alive, and the beautiful devotee seated on the pyre at last consented to take the child in her lap to share her doom.

They placed her husband's diamond *kalgi* (aigrette) in her turban, and she then fastened it with her own hands in the turban of her stepson, Hira Singh. Then, smiling on those around, she lit the pyre, the flames of which glistened on the arms and accoutrements, and even, it seemed to me, on the swimming eyes of the soldiery. So perished the widow of Dhyan Singh, with thirteen of her female slaves.

As for Maharaja Sher Singh, no one thought of avenging his death, and not a thought was bestowed on the sepulture of his remains.

Dulip Singh Succeeds to the Throne

The tragic events described above were followed by the succession of the boy Dulip Singh to the throne, with Hira Singh as *wazir*. The latter now appeared to be all-powerful ; but he had powerful enemies, and, moreover, a master in the person of one Pandit Julla, a man of the most repulsive cast of countenance, and of a most tyrannical and ambitious

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spirit. He had been tutor to Hira Singh in his youth, and the latter, being still quite a young man, was entirely in his hands.

Hira Singh was indeed but a poor copy of his father, whom he in vain attempted to resemble. His character was compounded of many conflicting qualities. Crouching and mean to his superiors ; silent and suspicious with his equals; proud, supercilious, and arrogant to his inferiors; subtle and deceitful to all. Too much puffed up to return, or even notice, the salutations of better men than himself; reared as the lapdog of Ranjit Singh and his dissolute companions ; with a smattering of English, Persian, and Sanscrit, and pretending to a perfect knowledge of all three languages. Clean, neat, and showy in person, like his father ; but too effeminate to resemble him truly ; unstable, and, as it seemed, not daring to walk, stir, sit, rise, eat, drink, sleep, or speak without—what ? A trifling sign, a careless nod, or some such sufficient guiding token from his mysterious jailor, his familiar spirit, his preceptor, master, father and brother, inferior and superior, Pandit Julla.

No sooner was Hira Singh in power than his actions, under the guidance of the Pandit, caused the greatest dissatisfaction in the army, and intrigues were speedily afoot, having for their object Pandit Julla's downfall and death. The leading spirit in this movement was Sardar Jawahir Singh, brother of the Rani Jindan, and consequently uncle of the young Maharaja Dulip Singh. Rani Jindan and Jawahir Singh were the children of one Manna, the dog-keeper of Ranjit Singh. Rani Jindan was endowed with extraordinary beauty and great talent. Her father, Manna, was a man of much humour and fun, who used to take great liberties with the old Lion of the Panjab, often rallying him jocularly on the state of his harem, and jocosely asking him to make a queen of his little daughter. Manna used to perch the pretty child on his shoulder, and run with her alongside of the Maharaja's palki when he made his entrances into Lahore, declaring the girl was getting burdensome and heavy. At last the monarch was persuaded, and said, "Very well, bring her." (He did this as Manna used to banter him about his age, and the Maharaja was very sensitive as to his personal decay.)

In the harem the little beauty used to gambol and frolic and tease Ranjit Singh, and managed to captivate him in a way that smote the real wives with jealousy—so much so that Ranjit Singh sent her when thirteen years of age to Amritsar, and gave her an allowance of 5000 rupees per month. Raja Dhyan Singh had charge of her, and this contributed to that able courtier's influence. He took her back to Lahore, treated her with great dignity, and ultimately effected the celebration of the *karewa*, tantamount to the *chadar dalna*,[4] marriage ceremony, between her and

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Ranjit Singh. Her ascendancy over the Maharaja was soon gained, and never lost.

Evil Genius—Pandit Julla

Now, to increase his influence over the new Minister, Hira Singh, Pandit Julla intrigued so as to produce, if possible, a deadly feud between him and his two uncles, Gulab Singh and Suchet Singh, the remaining Dogra brothers.

Suchet Singh was a splendid swordsman, and the very pink of chivalry. He knew that the Pandit was at the bottom of the estrangement between himself and his nephew, but matters had gone too far to be put straight. Early in December 1844 Suchet Singh received an invitation from the Rani Jindan and her brother Jawahir Singh to come to Lahore, and was assured by them that the army would go over from Hira Singh to him. In an evil moment for himself the gallant Suchet Singh started with only fifty men, and having arrived at Lahore, took up quarters in a small mosque near the Shalimar Gardens.

Pandit Julla knew that the success of Suchet Singh would be death to himself, and took his measures accordingly, distributing to each man in the army a pair of bracelets worth 30 rupees. This reward had been promised by Hira Singh to the army as a reward for the loyalty to his house they had shown in avenging on the Sindhanwalia family the murder of his father, Raja Dhyan Singh. The time for disbursing the reward was well chosen.

On Suchet Singh sending word that he had arrived, Hira Singh, who loved him in his heart, wanted to go at once and embrace his uncle; but his evil genius the Pandit persuaded him that he would be murdered, and produced a *pothi* or horoscope in which it was written that Suchet Singh or Hira Singh would fall the next day. The Pandit then ordered the army to attack the mosque ; but they too loved Suchet Singh, and at first refused to obey. At last they attacked, and under the fire of eighty pieces of artillery the roof of the mosque soon began to fall on the heads of the devoted little band within.

Suchet Singh Killed

Suchet Singh read his *Granth* calmly, prepared himself for death, and calling his followers around him, told any of them who were not ready to die to go in peace. None would, however, leave him. He then charged the army with his fifty followers, and after performing prodigies of valour they all perished. The troops who attacked them lost 160 killed and wounded. Hira Singh threw himself in great grief upon the dead body of his uncle.

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At the time of Suchet Singh's death I had just returned to Jammu from Sialkote, which I had captured from Kashmira and Peshora Singh, adopted sons of Ranjit Singh. I informed Gulab Singh of his brother's rash journey, and the Raja burst into tears and said, "He will be killed to a certainty ! Take your force from Sialkote" (where I had left it), "hasten to Lahore, and defend him."

Gulab Singh would not delay to give me a written order, but took off a small gold ring, which I was to show as a proof that I represented him. I immediately started, picked up my troops at Sialkote, arrived on the third day at Lahore, and fired a salute to let Suchet Singh (as I hoped), and the army also, know of my arrival. I was one day too late.

The hatred towards Pandit Julla rapidly increased, and soon the whole army was won to the side of Gulab Singh. Loud demands were addressed to Hira Singh to give up the Pandit, but Hira Singh refused to comply, and so turned the vengeance of the army against himself. Eventually Hira Singh and the Pandit were compelled to take refuge in the late Raja Dhyan Singh's house at Lahore, known as the "Hira Mandi," but subsequently fled with 1200 men to Shahdera. The army then entered the city of Lahore and commenced killing all the Dogras.

My life, being, as I was, in command of the troops of that race, was imperilled ; but some Akalis, who knew that I was an old officer of Ranjit Singh, took me under their protection, and from motives of personal safety I became a complete Akali in costume and habits.

On the 21st December 1844 the army crossed to Shahdera and yelled to Hira Singh to give himself up to them and let the Pandit meet his fate. Hira Singh, however, fled with the Pandit, and with them Sohan Singh, a son of Gulab Singh. After a running fight of nine miles they were all caught and slain : their heads were cut off and paraded through Lahore city. I myself, dressed as an Akali, carried the Pandit's head in my hands. The whole army was responsible for his death, but Hira Singh's death was caused by his mistaken loyalty to his tutor.

After the Akalis had triumphantly carried about the heads of the dead princes, Hira Singh and Sohan Singh, for more than a fortnight, I managed with great difficulty to secure the heads and to send them to Jammu to Gulab Singh. The heads were then cremated.

Thirst for Vengeance

Raja Gulab Singh now thirsted for vengeance on the Sikh nation, which had killed so many members of his family. He determined to make terms for himself with the British, and to leave the Sikhs to their doom. Jawahir Singh especially incurred his wrath for the death of Hira Singh and Sohan Singh.

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Jawahir Singh was completely introxicated by his sudden rise to power, and in the exuberance of his heart began to ill-treat Kashmira Singh and Peshora Singh, two adopted sons of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. This was enough to cause the army to feel furious indignation—any favourite of the old Maharaja was sacred to them. Kashmira Singh and Peshora Singh were shortly afterwards killed, the latter under atrocious circumstances of cold-blooded treachery. One circumstance connected with his murder incensed the army to the last degree. The boy had implored his murderer to give him arms and let him die fighting like a Sikh and a man, and the story reached the army of Lahore. Their first resolution was to march to Attock and avenge the murder, which had taken place there; but the Sikhs are proverbially fickle, and the immediate death of Jawahir Singh was decided on as a preliminary.

The Council of the army deliberated for fifteen or twenty days. Jawahir Singh was in the fort, and dared not show his head : menacing news reached him daily. I had one interview with him, and could hold out no hope, but told him to behave like a man and face the peril. The Council at last closed their deliberations and decided that Jawahir Singh should be slain, and that then the army should march down and attack Delhi.

The Iron Discipline of the Sikhs

On September 21, 1845, Jawahir Singh was summoned before the army. He came out on an elephant, holding in his arms his nephew, the young Maharaja Dulip Singh, the last survivor of the line of Ranjit Singh. The Maharani Jindan accompanied him on another elephant. Jawahir Singh had an escort of 400 horsemen, and two elephant-loads of rupees with which to tempt the army. As soon as the cavalcade left the fort an ominous salute ran along the immense line of the army—180 guns were fired. A roll-call was beat, and not a man of that great host was absent. So terribly stern was their discipline that, after the salute had died away, not a sound was to be heard but the trampling of the feet of the royal cavalcade.

Dulip Singh was received with royal honours : his mother, the Maharani Jindan, in miserable terror for her brother, was seated on her golden *hauda*, dressed in white Sikh clothes and closely veiled. As soon as the procession reached the middle of the line one man came forward and cried out, "Stop," and at his single voice the whole procession paused. A tremor ran through the host : many expected a rescue on the part of the French brigade ; but not a man stirred. The great *Panch* (Military Council) was still sitting on the right of the line. Four battalions were now ordered

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to the front, and removed Jawahir Singh's escort to a distance. Then another battalion marched up and surrounded the elephants of the royal personages. Ten of the Council then came forward ; the Rani's elephant was ordered to kneel down, and she herself was escorted to a small but beautiful tent prepared for her close by.

Then a terrible scene took place. The Rani was dragged away, shrieking to the army to spare her brother. Jawahir Singh was next ordered to descend from his elephant. He lost his head, attempted to parley, and a tall Sikh slapped his face and took the boy Dulip Singh from his arms, asking him how he dared to disobey the Khalsa. Dulip Singh was placed in his mother's arms, and she, hiding herself behind the walls of her tent, held the child up above them in view of the army, crying for mercy for her brother in the name of her son. Suddenly, hearing a yell of agony from a well-known voice, she flung the child away in an agony of grief and rage. Fortunately he was caught by a soldier, or the consequences might have been fatal.

Meanwhile the bloody work had been done on the hated Minister. A soldier, who had presumably received his orders, had gone up the ladder placed by Jawahir Singh's elephant, stabbed him with his bayonet, and flung him upon the ground, where he was despatched in a moment with fifty wounds.

Thus did the Sikh army avenge the death of Kashmira Singh and Peshora Singh.

Throwing the Snake

Maharani Jindan now became regent, and with her lover Lal Singh, who was appointed her adviser, decided on a policy of aggression. That policy was indicated by the old Sikh motto, "Throw the snake into your enemy's bosom," which is even more forcible than the English, "Kill two birds with one stone." The snake was the evilly disposed, violent, yet powerful and splendid Sikh army. It was to be flung upon the British, and so destroyed. Thus did the Rani Jindan in her turn plan to avenge herself on the murderers of her brother Jawahir Singh.

The army entered on the war with enthusiasm, and every man took with him a spade from his own home for engineering purposes. The skill with which they used them, and the valiant stand which they made against the British, is a matter of history.

The Sikh army crossed the Sutlej on the 8th December 1845.

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REFERENCES

1. Sir Henry Lawrence was born in 1806, and was consequently thirty-five at this time. Gardner was, of course, twenty or twenty-one years older.
2. The conversation between Sir Henry Lawrence and Gulab Singh, as related by Gardner, agrees sufficiently closely with the account in the *Life of Sir Henry* written by Sir Herbert Edwardes. The fact that information was given to Lawrence by Gardner is also mentioned, with the explanation that Gardner was exceptionally well-informed in Sikh affairs, because "he had married a native wife, given to him by Rajah Dhyan Singh out of his own house and through her, and living always among the natives, he was behind the scenes, and heard a good deal of the intrigues that were on foot. He had wild moods of talking, letting the corners of dark things peep out, and then shutting them up again with a look behind him, as if life at Jammu was both strange and fearful."
3. Sir Lepel Griffin states that Prince Partab Singh was murdered by Lehna Singh.
4. The offspring of this form of union was considered legitimate, and had the right of inheritance. *Chadar dalna* means "throwing the sheet".

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CHAPTER 6

THE FIRST SIKH WAR

AFTER THE murder of Wazir Jawahir Singh his sister, the Rani Jindan, was declared regent. Her principal advisers were Diwan Dina Nath, Bhai Ram Singh, and Misr Lal Singh, the first named of whom was a man of remarkable talent, known as "the Talleyrand of the Panjab." When war was declared against the British, and the Sikhs crossed the Sutlej, I was acting as Raja Gulab Singh's agent and factotum at Lahore, and in consequence had great power and influence.

Two more contemptible poltroons than the two generals of the Khalsa army—Lal Singh and Tej Singh, both Brahmans—never breathed. Lal Singh ran away and hid himself for twenty days in an oven at Ludhiana, in which the Sikhs would have baked him if they had caught him. Tej Singh always kept at the apex of the army (in the rear), pretending that he could thus have an eye to both divisions, and that it was not his duty to go in front. Tej Singh was never trusted by any one. After the start of the Sikh army for the front Lal Singh and Dina Nath used to receive visitors, and a succession of picnics used to take place at Shalimar Gardens. The Rani's policy was to affect enormous anxiety for the success of the Sikhs, but to afford them no substantial aid. If Delhi was taken, then so much the more glory and loot; if the British were victorious, the Rani, who was corresponding with them, could trust to their protection.

The pusillanimous and ignominious departure of Avitabile and Ventura at this critical juncture much disgusted the army, who wanted efficient and civilised control. There was no necessity to leave that I saw. I was always treated with honour and respect.

Rani's Distrust of the Sikhs

The state of the army was such that proscription rolls were made out of all individuals obnoxious to them, and they had to be given up. I started originally with the army, but was recalled by the Rani to Lahore, and she specially insisted that I was wanted to hold Lahore against the

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Khalsa. I was privately told to bring back no Sikhs, but as many Mussulmans as I had with me. These Mussulmans were the very brigade which mutinied at Peshawar in 1841, at the time Sir Henry Lawrence was deputed there. The Muhammadans, hating the Sikhs, were enchanted at the recall, and on our return, I was, as it were, governor of Lahore. My orders were simple : "No Sikhs are to return; manage that, and the rest shall be as you like." Much more fear was entertained of personal maltreatment by the Sikhs than of the British Government.

Twenty-five of Lord Hardinge's body-guard, thinking matters rather doubtful, deserted and put themselves under my orders at Lahore—fine tall men, swaggering about the city, very different from the slight and active "Manjha" Sikhs. One of them asked for a regiment of cavalry to lead against the British. The resolve of their ruler to destroy the army, anyhow and by whatever means, was known even by the Sikh army itself; but such had been the stern discipline of the *Panch*, such were the hopes of loot from Delhi, such the real belief that the intentions of the British were aggressive, such the domestic incitements of their families to plunder, and such their devotion to their mystic faith, that one single dogged determination filled the bosom of each soldier. The word went round, "We will go to the sacrifice." One miserable deserter was nearly beaten to death by his Panjabi countrywomen.

"Let us not survive," said some, "the invasion of Ranjit Singh's boundaries." For to their minds the occupation of the protected Sikh States by British troops was tantamount to an invasion.

After the battle of Ferozeshah, which took place on the 22nd December 1845, it was reported at Lahore that the British army had been defeated, and the Maharani and her council, though knowing the truth, were yet afraid that their own army might in the end be successful. They well knew that in that case it would return to Lahore, and that anarchy and bloodshed would once again be the order of the day. They therefore sent congratulatory messages to the troops, and counselled an immediate advance southwards by way of Bhawulpur. By this means, they said, the British army could be taken in flank, and Delhi captured.

The only duty imposed on me was to protect Maharani Jindan and her child, and to get the dread Khalsa army destroyed somehow.

"Don't come back, gallant men of the 'Guruji'," said we, "without at all events seeing Delhi." The Fakir Azizuddin foresaw, as well as most of us who were not infatuated by religion or intoxicated with drink, that the British must in the end win, from the elements of real unity which guided their councils, notwithstanding the doubtful state of their native troops.

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Betrayal of the Sikh Army

Lal Singh ran away at Mudki : he preferred the embraces of Venus at Lahore to the triumphs of Mars ; and was, as all Brahmans are, held in the highest contempt by the Sikhs. He fled, hid himself in a hayrick, and skulked off from the army. Swapping his handsome horse for a "tattoo," and smearing over his face with ashes like a poor fakir, he hid himself in an oven belonging to an old bakeress at Ludhiana. The Rani Jindan led him a dreadful life at first, when he returned to Lahore after twenty days' absence, jeering at him for his cautious behaviour; but he being her favourite, orders were given to stop any further hilarity. Even to Tej Singh the army cried, "Do not betray us !" such was his character for treachery. When he arrived at Ferozeshah he said he was off to bring up the reserve. He never once went to the front.

There was another general who actually ran away, and was jeered at by the army as a *lounda kutta* (dog with his tail cut). Tej Singh, keeping in his favourite position, the apex (as he called it) of the army, actually built a bomb proof mud hut, like a small tent, for himself, inside which he sat doing *puja* (i.e., "saying his prayers"), his Brahman astrologers being instructed to give out that everything depended on the safety of the holy man. When he disappeared after the battle of Ferozeshah he gave out that he was outflanked by the British, and was turning to meet his new enemy in the rear. He declared that he was panting for the war, but that his Brahmans would not let him out of his hut.

Hurbon was a fine soldier : he was a Spaniard, and had come out to the Sikh service on hearing the accounts of the large emoluments received by Ventura and Avitabile. He was told to show his mettle in the campaign, which he did, and bravely, being the engineer, moreover, who did all the castrametation which so surprised the British army.

Gulab Singh's Duplicity

All this time Gulab Singh, who could have brought 40,000 men by a sign of his finger, was being implored by the Sikhs to aid them. At that moment he had a difficult and critical game to play. The army offered to make him (Dogra though he was) Maharaja, and to kill the traitors Lal Singh and Tej Singh. Fortunately for the British, their prestige had its influence on his mind, and his memory recounted the treacheries of the Sikhs to himself and his countrymen, and he decided otherwise. He remained firstly at Jammu, the Rani Jindan telling him not to stir unless she required him. Meanwhile Gulab Singh cajoled the whole of the leading *panchayets* of the Sikh army, affecting to see every visitor from the battles at any moment, whether he was bathing or eating, as if his whole heart

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was with the Sikhs. He got all the wheat-carriers in the country, loaded them with immense display with about one-fourth of what they could carry, put placards in "Gurmukhi" on their necks to the effect that they were carrying supplies from Gulab Singh, and told them, under pain of mutilation, not to go two abreast, in order that the army and the country might imagine that incessant and enormous supplies were being forwarded to the stalwart and devoted Khalsa by their loyal and affectionate friend. "No I'm not going empty-handed to the great campaign that is to end at Calcutta," gave out Gulab Singh. "When all is ready for campaigning, off I start. This will be a long war, " said he. "It's a race to the capital, and devil catch the hindmost." Thus he temporised. But he held the power, and would have used it (if Dhyan Singh had been alive, or if he himself had been a Sikh) to create an insurrection which would have shaken the British power more even than the mutiny of 1857. All the protected Sikh States in the Malwa—Nabha, Jhind, and Patiala—were ready to envelop the British army in case of a reverse.

When at last, after the defeat at Sobraon on February 10, 1846, the remains of the Sikh army passed Hari-ka Ghat, Gulab Singh moved from Jammu. I went to meet him. "How is her Majesty ?" said he, the first words. I went with him to meet Major Lawrence. I had about 500 men, Gulab Singh some 2000, and 20,000 or 30,000 men within hail. Now here were the Sikhs crossing at Hari-ka Ghat, and the British at Kussur, who were therefore in a most critical position, as they were between the Sikh and Dogra armies. Of course Gulab Singh had a double move ; and Lawrence seemed to be anxious at the military mistake of moving the British army between one strong, though beaten, force, and another fresh in body and of a doubtful course of policy. Though Sir Henry tried to pump me, I only said, and could say, as an honest paid servent of my masters, "Keep up a bold face, and look to your right : the Dogra force may be secured to act as light infantry in case of any further trouble."

Rani Jindan's Stratagem

A very dramatic and characteristic scene occurred between the battles of Ferozeshah and Sobraon. The unfortunate Sikhs were hurried on to their fate, and were literally starved for want of rations. They sent a deputation of 500 picked Sikhs to Lahore to urge the dire necessities of the army—for three days they had lived upon grain and raw carrots. The Rani at first would not allow the deputation to enter Lahore. She feared justly for her personal safety at the hands of these desperate men. I therefore placed four battalions of infantry in guard over the queen, and

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she at last consented to hold a durbar and receive the deputation. They were told to come armed with swords only. Under the pretence of this being a State occasion, I turned out a very large personal guard for the queen, who waited behind a screen the arrival of the envoys. I was standing close to the Rani, and could see the gesticulations and movements of the deputation. In answer to the urgent and loud complaints of the sacrifice to which the army was exposed, she said that Gulab Singh had forwarded vast supplies. "No, he has not," roared the deputation ; "we know the old fox : he has not sent breakfast for a bird (*chiria-ki-haziri*)." Further parley ensued, the tempers of both parties waxing wroth. At last the deputation said, "Give us powder and shot." At this I saw some movement behind the *purdah* (the little Dulip was seated in front of it.) I could detect that the Rani was shifting her petticoat ; I could see that she stepped out of it, and then rolling it up rapidly into a ball, flung it over the screen at the heads of the angry envoys, crying out, "Wear that, you cowards ! I'll go in trousers and fight myself !"[1] The effect was electric.

After a moment's pause, during which the deputation seemed stunned, a unanimous shout arose, "Dulip Singh Maharaja, we will go and die for his kingdom and the Khalsaji!" and breaking up tumultuously and highly excited, this dangerous deputation dispersed, and rejoined the army. The courage and intuition displayed by this extraordinary woman under such critical circumstances filled us all with as much amazement as admiration.

Rani Jindan was very vain of her attractions, and when I was showing Sir Henry Lawrence and Sir Robert (then Captain) Napier round the Palace of Lahore, immediately upon the occupation after the termination of the first Sikh campaign, the latter officer asked me if I could manage to procure him a sight of her. Knowing that Rani Jindan possessed rather more than ordinary female curiosity, I offered to gratify her with a sight of the victorious English, and thus it was that her beautiful head and neck appeared once or twice over a wall, to the gratification of the officers.

The Rani used to wonder why a matrimonial alliance was not at once formed for her with some officer of rank, who would then manage State affairs with her.

She used to send for portraits of all the officers, and in one especially she took great interest, and said that he must be a lord. This fortunate individual's name has not transpired, and, much to the Maharani's mortification, the affair went no further. She considered that such a marriage would have secured the future of herself and her son.

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The British army had reached Lahore on the 20th February 1846, and on the 8th of the following month a treaty of peace was ratified between the British Government and the Lahore durbar. Maharaja Dulip Singh renounced all claim to the territories south of the river Sutlej, and recognised the independence of Gulab Singh as Raja of Jammu and such other hill territories as might be assigned to him. Colonel Sir Henry Lawrence was appointed Resident at Lahore, where furthermore a large British force was to remain till the end of the year.

On the 15th March the Governor-General, Sir Henry Hardinge, invested Gulab Singh with the title of Maharaja of Kashmir and Jammu, and Gulab Singh acknowledged the supremacy of the British Government.

Thus, after a campaign of but sixty days, the proud and fierce Khalsa army was effectually defeated, though by no means disgraced, and the kingdom of Ranjit Singh reduced to a position of dependency and subjection.

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1. Colonel Gardner has Anglicised this well-known story.

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CHAPTER 7

PORT AFTER STORMY SEAS

COLONEL GARDNER, as has been explained, was not called upon to take an active part in either of the wars between the Sikhs and the British. He took the field on the outbreak of the first war, but was almost immediately recalled to Lahore by Rani Jindan, mother of the young Maharaja, who desired him to take command of her own guards. On the conclusion of peace a council of regency was appointed to administer the government of the Panjab, and one of the leading members of this council was Raja Tej Singh, who was Gardner's personal enemy.

Tej Singh lost no time in taking advantage of his position, and Gardner presently received an order from the council to leave Lahore within twenty-four hours. There was no disputing the order, and Gardner was compelled to seek an asylum on British soil. He went to the frontier station of Ludhiana, where he had friends, and during his brief residence there occupied his leisure by giving to Colonel Carmichael-Smyth of the 3rd Bengal Light Cavalry the information which the latter embodied in a work entitled *The History of the Reigning Family of Lahore*.[1] Those who have read that curious and little-known work will recognise some of the incidents contained in the forgoing pages.

Gardner's period of exile was very short : he was soon afterwards permitted to enter the service of Gulab Singh, now created an independent sovereign as Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir.

The latter province was ceded to the Maharaja for reasons which need not here be discussed, but they did not commend themselves to Sheikh Imam-ud-din, the governor of Kashmir under the Sikh Government. Imam-ud-din declined to surrender Kashmir to the new Maharaja, who was therefore compelled to obtain possession of his kingdom by force of arms. Gardner accompanied Gulab Singh in the operations which ensued, and when Imam-ud-din had been overthrown and the new sovereign "had his own," Gardner received the reward of his long and faithful services to the Maharaja and his family. He received

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command of the "Ranbir" regiment of infantry, and of all the Kashmir artillery, with a salary of 500 rupees per mensem. This income, with the revenues of some villages bestowed upon him by the Maharaja, gave Gardner a comfortable income for the remaining thirty years of his long life. He lived in good style, after the native fashion, being from long habit a complete Oriental, and retained his activity of mind and body to the very last.

Gardner was held in high respect by his native neighbours, and more especially by the old soldiers of the Khalsa who had settled in Jammu or Kashmir. These veterans loved to meet one who had enjoyed the confidence of Ranjit Singh.

Colonel Gardner's last years were rendered interesting to him by the birth of a daughter, who received the name of Helena : there is pleasing evidence in his letters that the wellbeing of this child of his old age occupied many of his thoughts. This daughter, later Mrs. Botha, had inherited much of her father's adventurous and roving spirit. Many ancient Sikh soldiers came from all directions to see her, and to tell her of their attachment to her father. One fact about Gardner they never failed to mention, which was the curious habit that he had of clutching his neck with an iron pincer when about to drink. This operation was rendered necessary by the severe wound in his neck, which he had received in a battle in Central Asia. His Highness, the reigning Maharaja of Kashmir, also told Mrs. Botha of this peculiarity of her father, he having been greatly impressed by it when a boy.

It will be readily imagined that English visitors to the vale of Kashmir lost no opportunity of calling on the old adventurer, and of hearing the strange story of bygone days which he was so ready to tell. Some of those who delighted thus to hear of ancient wars were famous soldiers, among whom may be mentioned Lord Strathnairn, "a first-class fighting-man," and Sir Henry Durand, the hero of the Gate of Ghuzni.

Many of these English visitors have left on record their impressions of Gardner, and the description of him by Mr Andrew Wilson in his charming book, *The Abode of Snow*, merits quotation. "Colonel Gardner," he writes, "a soldier of fortune, ninety years of age, was born on the shores of Lake Superior, and had wandered into Central Asia at an early period. It was something almost appalling to hear this ancient warrior discourse of what have now become almost prehistoric times, and relate his experiences in the service of Ranjit Singh and other kings and chiefs less known to fame. If (as I have no reason to believe) he occasionally confused hearsay with his own experiences, it could scarcely be wondered at considering his years, and there is no doubt as to the general facts of

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his career. Listening to his graphic narrations, Central Asia vividly appeared as it was more than half a century ago, when Englishmen could traverse it, not only with tolerable safety, but usually as honoured guests."

Captain Segrave supplies a vivid portrait of Colonel Gardner in his old age. In writing of his first meeting with Gardner, Captain Segrave says : "I can perfectly recollect my first interview with him. He walked into Cooper's reception-room one morning, a most peculiar and striking appearance, clothed from head to foot in the 79th tartan, but fashioned by a native tailor. Even his *pagri* was of tartan, and it was adorned with the egret's plume, only allowed to persons of high rank. I imagine he lived entirely in native fashion : he was said to be wealthy, and the owner of many villages."

Gardner took a keen interest in public affairs, and wrote voluminously on the subject of the Russian advance towards India. He was an advocate of the "forward policy," and perhaps showed some want of tact in impressing his views on this subject on Lord Lawrence during the latter's viceroyalty.

The story has been told. The long and eventful life came at last to a peaceful close, and Alexander Gardner, one of the last of the Indian adventurers, died in his bed at Jammu on the 22nd day of January 1877, being then in the ninety-second year of his age. At the end Gardner wished to lie among Christian men, and he was accordingly buried in the military cemetery at Sialkot, the nearest English cantonment.

In that quiet nook he, who had seen men and nature under strange and varied circumstances, rests from his labours. The field of adventure which attracted him has ceased to offer inducements to the bold spirit of the wanderers, but there are yet dark places on the earth where they may do good work. To those who have in them the divine spark of enterprise these pages may not be without a suggestion and a lesson.

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his career. Listening to his graphic narratives, Captain [illegible] appeared as I was more than half a century ago, when [illegible] traverse it, not only with [illegible] words, he usually [illegible].

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CHAPTER 8

RANJIT SINGH AND HIS WHITE OFFICERS

A RESEARCHED DOCUMENT BY MAJOR HUGH PEARSE

THE SIKHS, who became eventually the most powerful nation encountered by the English during the conquest and consolidation of the Indian Empire, were in the beginning no more than a weak and persecuted religious community.

Nanak, the founder of their religion, was born in the year 1469, and the name "Sikhs"—literally, learners or disciples—given by him to his followers, became in time the descriptive title of the whole people.

Nanak was succeeded by nine other prophets, the last of whom, Govind Singh, was assassinated in 1708. At the time of Govind Singh's death the Sikhs had become a warlike and powerful people, but they had yet to await the coming of the man who was to weld them into a nation and bestow on them the gift of discipline.

At length, in the year 1780, Ranjit Singh, destined to become a great leader of men, was born at Gujrat, the son of Mahan Singh, chief of one of the least important of the twelve confederacies into which the Sikhs were at that time formed.

Mahan Singh died in 1791, and the young Ranjit Singh,only eleven years of age, would hardly have been permitted to arrive at manhood but for the protection given him by two remarkable women. These were his mother, Raj Kour, daughter of Raja Gajpat Singh of Jind; and his mother-in-law, Sada Kour, who had succeeded, as widow and heiress of her husband, to the chiefship of the powerful Kanheya confederacy. (Ranjit Singh had married, after the oriental fashion, at the age of six years, Mahtab Kour, daughter of Sada Kour. The title "Kour" means princess). This confederacy ranked fourth in importance among the twelve, and Ranjit Singh, having grown up under the protection of its chieftainess, took no rest until he had dispossessed Sada Kour from authority. She died in the year 1827 in the prison to which her ungrateful *protege* had consigned her.

It would be wearisome to the reader to trace minutely the measures, alternately violent and treacherous, by which Ranjit Singh gradually brought confederacy after confederacy under his rule, but some notice

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must be taken of an eventful period in which the young chief seized the golden opportunity of his lifetime.

Golden Opportunity

The city of Lahore, the ancient capital of the Panjab, had been occupied in the year 1797 and 1798 by Shah Zaman, the Afghan invader of Northern India ; but in the latter year domestic troubles recalled him somewhat suddenly to his own dominions, and while crossing the river Jhelam in flood he lost twelve pieces of artillery which were imbedded in quicksands. Not being able to tarry until the guns had been extricated, Shah Zaman promised Ranjit Singh, whose inherited territory lay near Lahore, authority to take possession of that city and district from its then rulers, if he would save the imperilled guns (whose possession was at that period a matter of importance) and send them to Afghanistan. Having extricated the guns, Ranjit Singh made short work of capturing Lahore, whereupon he assumed the title of Maharaja, by which he is known in history : moreover, he soon afterwards annexed Amritsar, the religious capital of the Sikhs.

It will be understood that this rapid rise to power of a competent and ambitious ruler, and the consequent consolidation of the Sikhs, could not escape the notice of the English Government ; and resulted, in fact, inevitably in the development of political relations between the two Powers, now become neighbours.

In 1809 a mission under Mr (afterwards Lord) Metcalfe effected an alliance between the British and Ranjit Singh, to which the latter honourably adhered during the remainder of his life.

An incident occurred during the visit of Mr Metcalfe's mission which brought home to Ranjit Singh's mind a sense of the true value of discipline, and determined him to form an army on the European system. Among the Sikh troops of 1809 were a turbulent and fanatical set of men known as the Akalis, or Immortals, whose headlong valour had often served Ranjit Singh and turned the fortunes of a doubtful battle. The Akalis, infuriated by the sight of the religious observances of Mr Metcalfe's escort, suddenly and without the slightest warning made an attack in overwhelming numbers on the camp of the British mission, which was defended only by two companies of native infantry. Though taken by surprise, the escort quickly rallied and repelled the attack of the Akalis, who incurred the wrath of Ranjit Singh even more for their ignominious defeat than for the inconvenience caused by their misconduct in making the attack. Profiting by this experience, and with the object of raising his own troops to a state of discipline similar to that of the British-Indian army, the Maharaja gave employment to certain deserters from British service, with whose assistance considerable progress was made.

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Finally, the absorption, in the year 1820, of the great Kanheya confederacy, removed the last remaining faction of any strength, and left Ranjit Singh free to devote his attention in earnest to the formation of a disciplined army for the now united Sikh nation. With a natural prejudice against Englishmen, the Maharaja proceeded with great caution in the selection of officers to assist him in his task, and it was not until the spring of the year 1822 that the two pioneers of the band of adventurers in the Panjab appeared on the scene. These were the Chevalier Ventura and the Chevalier Allard, officers of the great Napoleon's army, who had served the Emperor with honour and credit, and who, after the fatal day of Waterloo, had wandered to Egypt, and thence successively to Persia, Afghanistan, and the Panjab, in search of fortune.

The arrival at Lahore of Ventura and Allard did not put an immediate end to the difficulties which had attended their journey; for Ranjit Singh was of an extremely suspicious turn of mind, and took some time to assure himself that the two foreigners (who were in a state of extreme poverty) were really what they declared themselves to be, and not secret emissaries of the dreaded and suspected British Government.

The Dal Khalsa

Before describing the careers of Ventura and his companions in arms, a brief description must be given of the old Sikh army—the "Dal Khalsa," or army of God, as it was called—and of the Maharaja, its creator.

The army consisted for the most part of cavalry, raised and paid under a feudal system. Each chief furnished his followers with arms and horses, and the mounted soldier alone was held in respect. The exceptional estimation in which the Akalis (the fanatics already mentioned)were held, was partly due to their religious character and partly to the desperate courage which they showed in action. They usually fought on foot, but all other Sikhs mounted themselves before going on active service if possible, or at any rate on the first opportunity that offered itself.

The Sikh weapon was the sword, which, when mounted, they used with great skill. Bows and arrows were used by the infantry, and a few matchlocks ; but in the early days of Ranjit Singh's career the Sikhs disliked firearms and artillery of all descriptions, and possessed little or no skill in their use.

The picture of a Sikh soldier of the unreformed army, drawn for Bellasis by Chand Khan (in *Adventures of an Officer in the Panjab*, by Sir Henry Lawrence) is probably as accurate as it is spirited, due allowance being made for the supposed bias of the speaker : "Go to the bazaar, take any dirty, naked scoundrel, twist up his hair, give him a lofty turban and a clean vest; comb out and lengthen his beard, and gird his loins with a

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yellow cummerbund ; put a clumsy sword by his side and a long spear in his cowardly hand ; set him on a strong bony two-year-old horse, and you have a passable Sikh." Omitting the adjective "cowardly," the above description may be accepted ; but such men as those so unflatteringly described had done great things for Ranjit Singh. The swords may have been clumsy, but they were wielded by no cowardly hands when Multan was captured by the Khalsa from its gallant Afghan defenders.

With the arrival of Ventura and Allard came the day when the Maharaja could put into execution his long-cherished design, and commence to form his undisciplined hordes of horsemen into that Sikh army which in the end faced, and for a time faced successfully, the conquerors of Napoleon and his legions.

Ranjit Singh's Army

At the death of Ranjit Singh (1839) the strength of the regular army of the Panjab is stated by Sir Lepel Griffin to have been 29,000 men, with 192 guns. The monthly cost was Rs. 3,82,088, or say £500,000 per annum.

The irregular levies were estimated at about the same strength, and, says Sir Lepel Griffin, "were the picturesque elements in the Maharaja's reviews. Many of the men were well-to-do country gentlemen, the son, relations, or clansmen of the chief who placed them in the field and maintained them there, and whose personal credit was concerned in their splendid appearance. There was no uniformity in their dress. Some wore a shirt of mail, with a helmet inlaid with gold and a *kalji* or heron's plume; others were gay with the many-coloured splendour of velvet and silk, with pink or yellow muslin turbans, and gold-embroidered belts carrying their sword and powder-horn. All wore, at the back, the small, round shield of tough buffalo-hide. These magnificent horsemen were armed some with bows and arrows, but the majority with matchlocks, with which they made excellent practice. "

And what manner of man was the great Maharaja who had welded together this valiant, powerful, and picturesque army ?

Of the many descriptions of him that have been handed down to us, none is more vivid than that written by the traveller, Baron von Hugel: "In person he is short and mean-looking, and had he not distinguished himself by his great talents, he would be passed by without being thought worthy of observation. Without exaggeration I must call him the most ugly and unprepossessing man I saw throughout the Panjab. His left eye, which is quite closed, disfigures him less than the other, which is always rolling about wide open, and is much distorted by disease. The scars of

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the smallpox on his face do not run into one another, but form so many dark pits in his greyish-brown skin; his short straight nose is swollen at the tip; the skinny lips are stretched tight over his teeth, which are still good; his grizzled beard, very thin on the cheeks and upper lip, meets under the chin in matted confusion; and his head, which is sunk very much on his broad shoulders, is too large for his height, and does not seem to move easily."

It must be remembered that this striking picture was drawn late in the Maharaja's life, and Sir Lepel Griffin tells us that in earlier days Ranjit Singh, though short of stature and cruelly disfigured by smallpox, was the *beau ideal* of a soldier, strong, spare, active, courageous, and enduring. An excellent horseman, he would remain in the saddle the whole day without showing any sign of fatigue. His love of horses amounted to a passion; he was a keen sportsman and an accomplished swordsman. His dress was scrupulously simple, contrasting strongly with the gorgeous costumes of the Sikh *sardars*.

That Ranjit Singh was indeed a great man, a king of men, cannot for a moment be doubted. He was a born ruler, with the natural genius of command. Men obeyed him by instinct and because they had no power to disobey. Yet his moral character was extremely low—selfish, false, avaricious, grossly superstitious, shamelessly and openly drunken and debauched. That a man with these characteristics exercised an absolute control, even when paralysed and indeed half dead, over the turbulent Sikh people, testifies to his greatness.

Without attempting to present a complete picture of so complex a character as that of Ranjit Singh, two points call for our special attention when considering the Maharaja as a ruler and as the creator of an army : the first, his appreciation of the value of European discipline ; and the second, his discrimination in the choice of agents.

The sketches of the Maharaja's chief officers (*see* Appendix II), which follow, show how wisely they were chosen and how judiciously they were employed. From these pages and from the record of Colonel Gardner, some idea may be derived of the Dal Khalsa, or Sikh army.

1. GENERAL VENTURA

For several reasons the name of General Ventura deserves to stand first in the roll of Ranjit Singh's white officers. He stood second to none in the estimation of his royal master, and was held in like respect by those British officials, both civil and military, with whom he came in contact. He was, moreover, with Allard, the first to enter Ranjit Singh's service, and he remained in it faithfully until and after the end of the Maharaja's life.

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The fact, however, which influences me most strongly in according the place of honour to Ventura is his selection by Ranjit Singh to command the "Fouj Khas," or model bridage—the first in rank, discipline, and equipment in the reforrned army. The four infantry battalions of this brigade were the models on which the remainder of the army was formed, and it was by the conversion of his main strength from indifferent irregular cavalry to infantry of a very high class that Ranjit Singh effected the marvellous results which establish his claim to be considered a great military organiser. In this conversion Ventura was his right-hand man, and the only thing to be regretted is that the account of his career, that of an honourable and brave soldier of fortune, is perhaps less entertaining than those of some of his less reputable colleagues.

Of the early life of Ventura I have been able to ascertain but little. It is usually stated (on the authority of Henry Prinsep) that Ventura, an Italian by birth, had held the rank of colonel of infantry in the army of the Napoleonic Empire ; and there is no reason to doubt the fact. There is, unfortunately, no record in the French War Office of the service of individual members of the Italian contingent of the army of the First Empire, nor can information on the subject be obtained from the War Office of the present Italian army.

Joseph Wolff, the heroic missionary-traveller, states that Ventura was a Jew by birth, and that his name was Reuben Ben-Toora. Be this as it may, Maharaja Ranjit Singh, when his first distrust had worn off, rapidly took Ventura into favour, gave him at first the command of two battalions, and very shortly afterwards that of a brigade. For a dwelling the Maharaja assigned to Ventura the remarkable building close to Lahore known as the tomb of Anarkali. This building had previously been occupied by Prince Kharak Singh, the heir-apparent—a fact which shows the high social position accorded to Ventura.

The Maharaja desired his officers to engage not to eat beef, not to shave their beards, and not to smoke tobacco; but on Ventura and Allard agreeing to the first two conditions, the third was dispensed with.

General Ventura had not long to wait before an apportunity offered itself to him to show the Maharaja and the Sikh army the merits of his system of discipline, and also to illustrate his skill as a tactician. In March 1823, only a year after Ventura's arrival at Lahore, the Sikh army was engaged against the Afghans in the battle of Nowshera or Theri. The Afghans were in great strength—their regular troops holding a position on the right bank of the Kabul river, while 20,000 mountaineers of the Khatak and Yusufzai tribes occupied a strong position on the left bank.

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Maharaja Ranjit Singh now showed his confidence in General Ventura and Allard by sending them with a small force of eight battalions and two batteries to keep the regular Afghan troops in check, while he with his main strength fell upon the Ghazis. The battle was severely contested, but, thanks to the superior generalship of Ranjit Singh, resulted in a complete victory for the Sikhs. The loss of the victors was estimated by Captain (afterwards Sir Claude) Wade at 2000 men out of a total force present of 24,000. (Sir Claude Wade held charge for many years of British Government's political relations with Ranjit Singh, and was on most intimate terms with the Maharaja.)

The Afghan tribesmen had more than 3000 men killed, but gallantly rallied on the day following the battle and were ready to renew the fight. Muhammad Azim Khan, however, who commanded the Afghan regular troops, fearing lest his treasure and harem might fall into the hands of the Sikhs, broke up his camp, and, crossing the Momand hills with undignified haste, regained the valley of Jalalabad. He was pursued for a considerable distance by Ventura and Allard, whose force had been increased by a contingent under Prince Sher Singh—one of the Maharaja's sons, and a brave soldier.

In consequence of this victory Ranjit Singh occupied the city of Peshawar, and his troops plundered the whole district up to the Khaibar Pass.

General Ventura was highly favoured by the Maharaja in consequence of his services on this and subsequent occasions, and was granted pay at the rate of 2500 rupees a month. He also was at various times given large *jagirs*, or feudal grants of land, by his royal master ; and towards the end of the Maharaja's life Ventura received two villages as a special gift for his young daughter Victorine.

In spite of this large income the General was not so rich a man as might have been expected. He was too honourable to add to his fortune by illicit means, and his salary was usually in arrears to a very considerable extent. For years the debt amounted to no less than 150,000 rupees, or five years' income ; and whenever Ventura asked for the money due to him the Maharaja would say, "What do you require it for ? Is not all I have yours ?"

In 1825 General Ventura was married to a European lady at Ludhiana, and in honour of the event a ceremonial took place at Lahore , when the bridegroom received gifts of 10,000 rupees from the Maharaja and 30,000 from the courtiers.

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The first campaign in the year 1826 was directed agains Kotler, the chief command being intrusted to Jamadar Khushal Singh, a favourite officer of the Maharaja. In this campaign a number of Sikh sardars or chiefs, and soldiers, refused to serve under Ventura and Allard, and threatened to resist their authority by main force. The two generals complained to the Maharaja, who at once proceeded to the army, degraded the mutinous officers and severely punished the ringleaders of inferior rank.

Later in the year General Ventura accompanied Sardar Hari Singh Nalwa, one of the bravest and best educated of the Sikh chieftains, in various small expeditions. A rising at Gandgrah was quelled after a smart action, the hill fortress of Srikot was captured ; and finally Ventura took part in a demonstration under Prince Sher Singh, the object of which was to exact payment of the annual tribute from Yar Muhammad Khan, at that time ruler of Peshawar. The tribute was paid without fighting, and so ended a year of great military activity.

The Wonder Horse Laili

In the year 1827 occurred the curious incident of the horse Laili, which has been so often dilated on by writers of Sikh history. This horse was believed to be of surpassing beauty and excellence, and it is said that Fatteh Ali Shah, of Persia, offered 75,000 rupees for the animal. Maharaja Ranjit Singh also set his heart on becoming the owner of Laili. Yar Muhammad Khan of Peshawar, the owner of the coveted horse, had it noised abroad that Laili was dead ; but this having been disproved, the Maharaja sent an expeditionary force under the command of his son, Prince Sher Singh, and General Ventura, and at length obtained possession of Laili. The presence of General Ventura, and subsequently of General Allard, at Peshawar, in connection with this affair, proved to be of material service to the Maharaja, as he was thereby enabled to rescue that city and district from the fanatical followers of Syad Ahmad the Reformer, who had defeated the Afghan troops and slain Yar Muhammad Khan himself. Peshawar was for a time relinquished to the Afghans and the Sikh army withdrawn. The ultimate fate of Syad Ahmad is related by Colonel Gardner in the following pages (*see* Appendix I).

To avoid undue repetition, it will suffice to say that, from the time of his entering Ranjit Singh's service, General Ventura took an active part in all the campaigns and expeditions by means of which the Maharaja increased year by year the extent of his dominions and the efficiency of his army.

The confidence shown in Ventura, and the other foreign officers who will next be introduced to the reader, aroused so much jealousy among

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the Sikh princes and chieftains that, in general, the leadership of those expeditions in which the Maharaja himself did not exercise the command was bestowed on one of the reigning family, or one of the few chiefs who could be trusted in independent employment : thus in the year 1831, that of Colonel Gardner's arrival in the Panjab, General Ventura shared with Shahzada Sher Singh the command of the force sent out from Peshawar against the reformer Syad Ahmad. As is related in Gardner's narrative, this force completely defeated Syad Ahmad's followers, and the prophet himself was slain, at a place called Balakot. Gardner was just too late to take part in the action ; but it is probable that Ventura became aware that Gardner had intended to assist the insurgents, and that this fact, coupled with Gardner's adherence to the Dogra faction, caused the ill-will which is shown by Gardner's language to have existed between them. The French and Italian officers in Ranjit Singh's service held much aloof from those of other nationalities, and this also must have contributed to the unfriendliness.

Later in the year 1831 General Ventura was sent to Multan, in command of a force of 10,000 troops and thirty pieces of artillery, for the purpose of collecting the tribute of that province.

Space does not permit me to detail Ventura's military achievements in the service of Maharaja Ranjit Singh : suffice it to say that he served that exacting master faithfully to the end of his life, and after the Maharaja's death he in like manner served his successors.

In addition to the rank of general conferred on Ventura soon after he entered the Sikh service, Ranjit Singh created him *kazi* and governor of Lahore, which appointment gave him the third seat in durbar.

During the early years of his service in the Panjab, General Ventura had lived with General Allard in a large mosque near the Lahore cantonments. It is related that when Ventura was absent in France for two years (1838-1840), his family, together with forty or fitty female slaves lived during the whole period in this mosque without once moving out of doors.

General Ventura was a high-minded and honourable soldier, much respected by the Sikhs, and also by all the English officers with whom he was brought in contact. He eventually retired from the Panjab in 1843, possessed of an ample fortune, and passed the remainder of his life at Paris, where he lived in very good style.

II. GENERAL ALLARD

The second of Maharaja Ranjit Singh's foreign generals was Jean Froncois Allard, born at Saint Tropez, a small seaport on the Mediterranean

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coast of France, on March 8, 1785. Allard joined the French army on December 6, 1803, his first regiment being the 23rd Dragoons, in which he passed through the various grades to the rank of squadron quartermaster-sergeant.

Allard served in Italy during the year 1804 to 1806, and was transferred in the latter year to the royal guard of the army of the kingdom of Naples. In February1807 he became quartermaster of the Neapolitan regiment of light cavalry, and towards the end of the following year accompanied that corps to the theatre of war in Spain.

Allard became sub-lieutenant on the 15th June 1809, and lieutenant on the 10th July 1810. On the 31st July 1813 he received two sword-cuts in the skirmish of Aleazar, near Alcala, and a year later was transferred to the 2nd regiment of dragoons of the Imperial Guard of France. In July 1814 he was again transferred to the 2nd Hussars, and on 28th April 1815 he was promoted captain in the 7th Hussars.

His sevices had been rewarded with the crosses of the Royal Spanish Order and of the Legion of Honour, and he held the appointment of aide-de-camp to Marechal Brune. Fortune appeared, therefore, to smile on the young soldier, and a successful career in the military service of France seemed fairly within his reach. The fatal day of Waterloo, and the murder of his patron, Marechal Brune, dashed his hopes to the earth, and after four years of hesitation and of half-hearted attempts to make a fresh start in the royal army, Allard decided to seek his fortune abroad. His first intention was to visit the United States, but a communication from his friend Colonel Ventura caused him to change his plans and accompany the latter to Persia, where they entered the service of Abbas Mirza, the heir-apparent. Here the friends were treated with kindness and respect, but their aspirations in the matter of salary were very far from satisfied ; so in the fulness of time they took leave of Abbas Mirza and passed through Afghanistan into the Panjab.

Their early troubles in this kingdom have been related in the account of Ventura, and on that subject it need only be stated that at the same time that Ventura received command of a body of infantry, Allard was commissioned to raise a corps of dragoons, who were to be armed and disciplined like the cavalry of European armies. Into this task Allard entered with unbounded enthusiasm, and with a considerable amount of success.

Lieutenant William Barr, of the Bengal Horse Artillery, who accompanied Sir Claude Wade in his successful operations in the Khaibar Pass, gives an excellent description of the Sikh cavalry at the time of

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Allard's death. After an unfavourable review of the artillery (who were, however, much better than they looked), Barr writes :-

"We then reached the cavalry, the dragoons occupying the left. These were well mounted, and form a fine body of men and horses. On their right were two regiments of Allard's cuirassiers, the most noble-looking troops on parade. The men and horses were all picked, and amongst the former are to be seen many stalwart fellows, who appear to advantage under their cuirasses and steel casques. Particular attention seems to have been paid to setting them well up, and their accoutrements are kept in the highest order. Many of the officers wear brass cuirasses, and their commandant is perhaps the finest man of the whole body, and looks extremely well in front of his superb regiment..... It used to be poor Allard's pride and amusement to review these men, and their present martial appearance is no doubt owing to that officer's constant care and superintendence."

Barr goes on to say that in marching past, the regularity and order of the cuirassiers could scarcely be exceeded by the Company's cavalry.

Barr and his companions had previously been much struck by the excellent way in which Allard's dragoons were mounted. This was the corps mentioned above as taking the left of the line of cavalry. The dress of these dragoons consisted of a jacket of a dull red with broad facings of buff, crossed in front by a pair of black belts, one of which supported a pouch and the other a bayonet—genuine dragoon equipment, in which the Sikh cavalry fought, as the old quip has it, *indifferently* on horseback or on foot. Round the waist the dragoons wore a cummerbund, partially concealed by a sword-belt, from which hung a sabre with a brass hilt and leathern scabbard. The carbine was so attached as to give it the appearance of being slung across the back of the dragoon, but rested, in fact, in a bucket fastened to the saddle. The trousers were of dark-blue cloth with a red stripe, and the turbans of crimson silk, brought somewhat into a peak in front, and ornamented in the centre with a small brass half-moon, from which sprang a glittering sprig about two inches in height.

The officers were attired from top to toe in bright crimson silk, and were armed with a sabre only.

Like General Ventura, Allard took part in all the campaigns of the Sikh army from the date of his arrival in the Panjab. It is related that very soon after Allard had begun to form his regular cavalry Ranjit Singh ordered his Ghorcharas, or irregular cavalry, to cross the Indus. The order was immediately obeyed, but no discipline was observed and no precautions were taken. No less than 500 men are said to have been swept away by the torrent and drowned. Allard then mounted an elephant,

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and directed his cavalry by trumpet-sounds, and moving them in a suitable formation, succeeded in conveying them across the Indus without loss. Allard was immediately given the rank of general, and received the same pay as Ventura, viz., £3000 per annum.

General Allard, like his friend Ventura, was a man of high character, of polished manners, and of a most amiable disposition. Frequent mention is made of him in the writings of travellers in the Panjab, and, almost without exception, he is spoken of in terms of respect and liking. He showed a princely hospitality to Europeans of all ranks, and a gentleness to the natives of India which earned him the contempt of Avitabile— a fact on which he is surely to be congratulated.

Ranjit Singh seems to have felt a genuine affection for Allard, and it is even said that the Maharaja's death was hastened by the loss of his friend.

General Allard's death occurred at Peshawar on January 23, 1839, and his body was taken to Lahore for burial : the cause of death was heart disease. The Maharaja was in bad health, and his attendants were long afraid to tell him of Allard's death. General Allard was nearly fifty four years old, and left a wife and large family, to whom he was greatly attached. He was perhaps the most amiable and attractive of soldiers of fortune.

It is worth mentioning that Allard, together with Ventura, Avitabile, and Court, received from King Louis Philippe the rank of general in the French army and the Cross of the Legion of Honour. Allard was also appointed Political Agent of the French Government at the Court of Lahore. In appearance he was said to have been a handsome man, of a benevolent cast of countenance ; and Miss Eden amusingly describes the impression made on her by his remarkable beard. "Allard," she writes in a letter from Calcutta dated December 5, 1836, "wears an immensely long beard that he is always stroking and making much of ; and I was dead absent all the time he was there because his *wings* are beautiful white hair, and his moustachios and the middle of his beard quite black. He looks like a piebald horse."

III. GENERAL AVITABILE

In marked contrast to Allard was Avitabile, the third of Ranjit Singh's white generals, who is even better known to us than are Ventura and Allard, as it fell to his lot to occupy a position for many years in which he was able to render signal services to the British Indian Government. This position was that of governor of Peshawar, which city and province were ruled by Avitabile with remorseless cruelty, shameless rapacity, and signal skill and success.

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Of the early life which fitted a Neapolitan peasant for such a position but little can be ascertained with certainty, but that little discloses a very remarkable personality. "Paolo di Bartolomeo Avitabile — a general in the armies of the Panjab and of France; Chevalier of the Legion of Honour ; of the Orders of Merit and of Saint Ferdinand (of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies) ; Commander of the Durani Order (of Afghanistan); Grand Commander of the Lion and Sun and of the Two Lions and Crown (of Persia) ; and of the Star of the Panjab"— was born at Agerolo in the kingdom of Naples on the 25th October 1791, and served in the local levies of his native State during the year 1807 to 1809.

Avitabile then entered the artillery of the army of King Joseph Buonaparte, and served that sovereign and his successor Murat. Avitabile served several campaigns under Murat in the Italian contingent of the imperial army, and rose to the rank of lieutenant, receiving also the command of the 15th Battery.

When the kingdom of Naples was restored to the Bourbons by the fall of Napoleon, Avitabile retained his rank and command, and served under the Austrian General Delaver at the siege of Gaeta. On this occasion he showed distinguished gallantry, and was twice wounded. General Delaver recommended him for promotion to the rank of captain and for a decoration, but for some unexplained reason Avitabile was removed in the same rank of lieutenant to a light infantry regiment. Disgusted by this treatment, Avitabile determined to seek his fortunes abroad, and embarked for Philadelphia: his voyage was, however, disastrous, and ended in a shipwreck near Marseilles. Here Avitabile was kindly treated, and advised to turn his steps eastward rather than westward: he accordingly took ship for Constantinople, where he found an envoy of Fu'teh Ali Shah of Persia charged with the duty of obtaining European officers for the Persian army.

Avitabile arrived at Teheran in the year 1820, and served the Shah and his heir-apparent for a period of six years, during which he performed signal services, and was rewarded with the rank of "khan" and the grade of colonel. He also received two of the hightest Persian decorations. Discontented with his remuneration, and hearing favourable reports from Ventura of his service in the Panjab, Avitabile and Court (a brother-officer of the Napoleonic army who was in Persia with him) set out for India.

After an adventurous journey through Afghanistan, they arrived in the Panjab and were quickly given employment. Ranjit Singh soon discovered that Avitabile's talents lay in the direction of civil government, and made him governor of the town and province of Wazirabad.

Avitabile showed great ability in this office and ruled his subjects, Sikhs and Muhammadans alike, with impartial severity. In so doing he

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undoubtedly pleased Ranjit Singh, who had all the instincts of a great ruler, but gave great dissatisfaction to the Sikhs, who desired and expected to be treated as the ruling race. In addition to his duties as governor, Avitabile exercised military command over the troops at Wazirabad, and succeeded in impressing something of his own stern character on his infantry regiment.

The Rev. Joseph Wolff, on his arrival in the Panjab (in 1832), found Avitabile at Wazirabad, and gives the following interesting account of him :--

" This famous Neapolitan spoke Italian, French, Persian, and Hindustani with equal facility. He had improved the town of Wazirabad to a remarkable extent. He kept the streets of the city clean, and had a fine palace and a beautiful carriage for himself. He was a clever, cheerful man, and full of fun. He told Wolff at once that he would show to him his *angeli custodes*, and then took him to his bedroom, the walls of which were covered with pictures of dancing-girls.

"He and Wolff one day rode out together on elephants, and he said to him, 'Now I will show you the marks of the civilisation which I have introduced into this country.' They rode outside the town and there Wolff saw before him about six gibbets, upon which a great number of malefactors were hanging. Though Avitabile was full of fun, yet whenever the conversation was directed to important subjects, he became most serious. Though he had amassed in India a fortune of £50,000, he was always panting after a return to his native country, Naple; and he said to Wolff, 'For the love of God, help me to leave this place !"

Avitabile continued to govern Wazirabad wisely, and on the whole well until he was removed in the year 1834 to Peshawar. The government of this new conquest of the Maharaja's had proved too arduous a task for the various Sikh princes and *sardars* who had tried their hands at it.

Peshawar is, as has been well said, a fragment of Central Asia that has accidentally become, geographically and politically, part of India. Of all the cities of the plains its inhabitants have been and are the most savage and unruly. The ruthless Avitabile was the first man who ever held Peshawar in subjection. In the opinion of Sir Henry Lawrence, a man who must have held Avitabile's methods in horror, "the most lenient view of him that can be taken is, to consider him as set in authority over savage animals—not as a ruler over reasonable beings—as one appointed to grind down a race, who bear the yoke with about as good a grace as 'a wild bull in a net,' and who, catching the ruler for one moment asleep, would soon cease to be governed. But the ground of complaint alleged

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against him is that he acts as a savage among savage men, instead of showing them that a Christian can wield the iron sceptre without staining it by needless cruelty—without following some of the worst fashions of his worst neighbours. Under his rule summary hangings have been added to the native catalogue of punishments, and not a bad one either, when properly used; but the ostentation of adding two or three to the string suspended from the gibbet, on special days and festivals, added to a very evident habitual carelessness of life, lead one to fear that small pains are taken to distinguish between innocence and guilt, and that many a man, ignorant of the alleged crime, pays for it with his blood....

"Still, General Avitabile has many of the attributes of a good ruler: he is bold, active, and intelligent, seeing everything with his own eyes; up early and late. He has, at the expense of his own character for humanity, by the terror of his name, saved much life. It is but just to state that the peaceful and well-disposed inhabitants of Peshawar, both Hindu and Muhammadan, united in praise of his administration, though all with one voice declared that mercy seldom mingled in his decrees. Believed to fear neither man nor devil, Avitabile keeps down by grim fear what nothing else would keep down, the unruly spirits around him, who, if let slip, would riot in carnage: his severity may therefore be extenuated as the least of two evils."

This is not an unfavourable picture, and it is worth studying, for Avitabile was one of the very few Europeans who has governed an Eastern province on oriental principles.

Avitabile was in appearance "a tall stout man, of sensual countenance, with large nose and lips, something of the Jewish type, and well whiskered and bearded. He wore a laced blue jacket, not unlike that of our horse-artillery, capacious crimson trousers of the Turkish fashion, and a rich sword." The blade of this sword had belonged to the Emperor Akbar, and was a superb one : it cost Avitabile 2000 rupees, and the setting cost him another thousand. The hilt was of gold, studded with very valuable jewels, as was the scabbard, a very small portion of green velvet being visible in the middle of the latter. It would be interesting to know what has become of this costly relic.

The following anecdote, told by a German traveller in the Panjab at the time of Avitabile's governorship of Peshawar, illustrates the General's ready wit and knowledge of native character :—

"A certain Mohammedan woman of Peshawar had a son and a daughter. Both married, and the daughter and daughter-in-law gave birth, at the same time, to two children, one a boy, the other a girl. Some time afterwards a serioous dispute arose between the two ladies. The daughter's

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child was a girl, that of the daughter-in-law a boy, but the former maintained that the boy was hers and had been stolen from her. The daughter-in-law denied the charge, and was supported in her denial by her husband's mother. The strife became serious, and the contending parties brought the affair before the judge. This magistrate, being no Solomon, was unable to elicit the truth, and dismissed the complainants. The latter were not satisfied, and appealed to the High Court, over which General Avitabile presided. The case was brought before him, and public curiosity was strained to the highest pitch, each eagerly asking his neighbour, 'How will the judge decide ?' The statements upon both sides having been gone through, General Avitabile ordered two goats to be brought, one having a male, the other a female kid. This being done, he sent for two sheep that had each a lamb, one a male, the other a female. In like manner he commanded two cows to be brought, of which one had a male, the other a female calf. These different quadrupeds being introduced, he ordered that the goats, the sheep, and the cows should be milked, and the milk of each animal placed in a separate vessel, which should be marked. 'Now', said the General, 'let this milk be examined, and it will be found that that which belongs to the animals that have male young is stronger than the milk which has been taken from the others.' Upon inspection this was found to be correct. 'Now', said the judge, 'bring me some milk from the mothers of the children.' The milk was brought, and General Avitabile declared that the milk of the daughter-in-law was stronger than that of the daughter, and that consequently she must be the mother of the boy. The wisdom of the judge astonished every one, and his decision was universally admired."

It is also related that on one occasion General Avitabile quelled a mutiny among his troops by releasing and arming a number of prisoners, by which means he took his troops by surprise and reduced them to subjection.

It is an interesting fact that the best account of Avitabile, after that of Sir Henry Lawrence, is contained in the *History of the War in Afghanistan* of Captain (afterwards Sir) Henry Havelock. Captain Havelock had marched to Kabul in 1839 with the 'army of the Indus,' in the capacity of aide-de-camp to Sir Willoughby Cotton, and in November of that year arrived at Peshawar on his return to India.

Havelock confirms all that is written by others concerning the lavish hospitality shown to all comers by Avitabile, and his description is worth transcribing, giving, as it does, a curious picture of the life of the adventurer in high places :—

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"In the 'Serai,' mentioned by Elphinstone as one of the glories of Peshawar in 1809, the present governor of the city has established his military headquarters, and his civil and fiscal tribunals. It is called the 'Gorkhatra,' and is a vast quadrangle, the length of each side being 250 yards. This has been rendered habitable, first by building a suite of apartments over the gateway nearest to the country, and next by erecting a very handsome dwelling in the Persian fashion, consisting of three storeys and a *rez-de-chaussee*, on the side nearer the city.

"The governor is a man of princely habits. His dress, chargers, and equipages all partake of a splendour well calculated to uphold his authority amongst a people like the Afghans. He particularly, and very justly, piques himself on the excellence of his table, and keeps an establishment of not fewer than eight cooks, who are well versed in all the mysteries of Persian, English, and French gastronomy. He is, moveover, a frank, gay, and good-humoured person, as well as an excellent ruler and skillful officer."

As Captain Havelock passed a complete month in close association with Avitabile, this very favourable picture of the redoubtable Italian possesses much value.

On the occasion of the advance of the British army in 1842, under General Pollock, to avenge the destruction of Elphinstone's army in Afghanistan, Avitabile was again brought in contact with a large number of English officers. From what motives he acted it would perhaps be ungracious to inquire too closely, but it is undeniable that General Avitabile rendered very important services to England at that critical juncture. No stone was left unturned by him to facilitate the movement of the troops through the Peshawar province, and the General also lavished personal kindnesses and hospitality on the English officers.

Among other friendly actions of Avitabile may be mentioned the advance of large sums of money to the British field-treasury. This, however, was at least as convenient to the lender as to the borrower, for Avitabile was thus enabled to transmit to England a considerable portion of his fortune. No less than ten lakhs of rupees were advanced in this manner by the General.

After Avitabile's return to Europe he asked for some mark of the satisfaction of the East Indian Company, and in due course the Court of Directors resolved (27th August 1845) "that the eminent services of General Avitabile, while governor of Peshawar, in co-operation with the British troops during the Afghanistan campaign, fully entitle him to some enduring testimonial of the Court's grateful sense of his conduct."

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Avitabile was subsequently presented by the Court with a sword worth 300 guineas.

Reference has already been made to Avitabile's kindness to European travellers. Like Generals Ventura and Allard, he ever received such wanderers with princely hospitality, and he behaved generously also to those natives of the Panjab whom he ruled with such iron severity. Sir Richard Burton relates that, when passing through Egypt on his celebrated pilgrimage to Mecca, he was in some way mistaken for Avitabile ; and that a party of Indian Muhammadan pilgrims travelled a long distance to see him, relying on the well-known liberality of "Abu-Tabile" for assistance.

Avitabile's government of Peshawar came to an end during the disturbed year of 1843. He was compelled to leave the city and to take refuge at Jalalabad. Eventually he retired to British India, and thence made his way to his native Naples.

General Avitabile received the same rate of pay as General Ventura—viz., £3000 per annum, in addition to a *jagir* worth £2000 per annum, as governor of Peshawar. His further emoluments are supposed to have been very great, more particularly after the death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, when all business fell into confusion.

After his retirement from the Sikh service General Avitabile built a fine house at Castellamare near Naples, but did not long live to enjoy it. An over-devotion to champagne carried him off, and his large fortune soon found its way into the pockets of the lawyers—so many *soi-disant* relations asserting their claims to a share of the General's goods as to make "Avitabile's cousins" a byword in Italy. Thus for the hundredth time did the pen profit by that which the sword had earned.

IV. GENERAL COURT

The fourth and last of Ranjit Singh's white generals is less known to history than the three whose record has been briefly sketched.

It appears from the offical records of the French War Office that Claude Auguste Court was born on the 26th September 1793, and entered the Ecole Polytechnique of Paris on the 24th April 1812. He was appointed sub-lieutenant in the 151st Regiment of the Line in 1813, and was transferred to the 68th Regiment in the following year. He was permitted to resign his commission in July 1818; but his service in the French army, though short, had not been undistinguished, for he served the campaign of 1813 in Saxony, of 1814 and of 1815, and was wounded by a musket-shot in the left leg on the 28th March 1813 at the skirmish at Halle.

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Court next took service in Persia, when he made the acquaintance of Avitabile, and finally travelled to the Panjab in company with him. This journey to Kabul was performed in the autumn of 1826, and in the spring of 1827 Court and Avitabile entered the service of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. The Maharaja was anxious to improve and increase his artillery, and appointed Court to the command of that arm—a duty for which his very considerable talents and scientific attainments fitted him. The striking improvement in the Sikh artillery which was effected in the twelve remaining years of the Maharaja's life must be largely attributed to Court's exertions, for all accounts of the Sikh army agree in stating that he was an excellent officer, and entirely devoted to his professional duties.

It would probably be wearisome to the readers to give long description of the artillery of the Khalsa army as perfected by General Court. It may be found by the curious in Barr's '*Journal of a March through the Panjab*.' Barr, an officer of the Bengal Horse Artillery, concludes his remarks with the following words : "When it is considered that all we saw was the work of the General's own knowledge, and when we reflect on the difficulties he had to surmount, it is a matter almost of wonder to behold the perfection to which he has brought his artillery." How staunchly this artillery fought against the British is well known.

As an instance of Maharaja Ranjit Singh's fitful generosity, it is stated that the first shell constructed by General Court was worth 30,000 rupees to him—probably a record reward to an artillery officer.

In the agreements signed by Court and the other European officers it was stipulated that they should abstain from eating beef, should grow their beards, and should marry native wives. This last clause was not insisted on in the case of Ventura, who married a European lady ; but Allard, Avitabile, and Court fell in with their master's wishes. Avitabile, indeed, married with oriental profusion ; Allard married a charming lady of Kashmir, by whom he had a large family ; and Court twice married natives of India.

In addition to his domestic amenities General Court took much interest in archaeology. The results of his researches in the antiquities of the Panjab frequently adorned the pages of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and his cabinet of coins and other treasures is said to have been superb. "He is at all times," says M'Gregor the historian, "ready to exhibit them with a politeness which reflects equal credit on him as a gentleman and a savant."

Barr describes Court as a short, thick-set man, pitted with smallpox, and with the appearance of a rough-and-ready sailor, his uniform consisted of an open horse-artillery jacket, displaying beneath it a red waistcoat

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profusely ornamented with lace. Like Avitabile, he wore a handsome sabre attached to an embroidered belt; but, unlike him, Court was a man of very simple habits. He was accustomed to live in a small house in the garden of the larger building occupied by his family.

General Court received £2400 a-year in pay, in addition to a *jagir* worth £100 a-year.

During the lifetime of Ranjit Singh the foreign generals were enabled to keep clear of the conflicting factions of the Court, but after the Maharaja's death such conduct was impossible. All who served Kharrak Singh and his successors were compelled to form part of one faction or the other. Thus when Prince Sher Singh was about to march to Lahore in January 1841, to assert his claim to the throne, he called General Ventura to his side. Ventura's influence was great, and over none was it stronger than his friend Court. The two Generals therefore accompanied Sher Singh to Lahore, and took part in the siege of the fort of Lahore, in the defence of which Colonel Gardner took so prominent a share.

As has been related by Gardner, the accession of Sher Singh to the throne was followed by an outburst of violence on the part of the Sikh army which threatened to wreck the great fabric which had been created by the genius of Ranjit Singh. A large number of officers who had incurred the enmity of the soldiery were murdered in cold blood ; and General Court, for some reason, was among those held to be most obnoxious. Court's house was attacked by his own troops, and the General was compelled to seek refuge in the camp of General Ventura, who had to use his artillery to protect himself and his friend.

General Court subsequently left Lahore and took up his abode on the British side of the Sutlej, where he remained for several months, repeatedly claiming his discharge from the Sikh Government. It was refused. So, disdaining to decamp without leave, he returned to Lahore; but foreseeing the probability of some such *bouleversement* as afterwards took place , the General wisely left his zenana in safe quarters at Ludhiana.

General Court eventually returned to France, where his wife was formally christened and remarried to him, according to Catholic ceremonies, by the Archbishop of Marseilles. After General Court's death a *jagir* worth £480 a-year was settled on Madame Court. The General appears to have been an honourable and highly amiable man, and a good soldier.

V. DR HARLAN

In addition to General Ventura, Allard, Avitabile and Court, whose claims to the rank of general are indubitable, that position is also claimed

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by one Josiah Harlan, usually described by historians as Dr Harlan. The doctor himself prefers the rank of general, a fancy in which he is followed by some of his profession at the present day ; and although his claim to that title may be doubtful, it is a positive fact that Maharaja Ranjit Singh not only made him governor of an important province, but conferred on him the command of a body of troops.

Those whose good fortune it is to have read that truly delectable book *The Travels and Adventures of Dr Wolff*, may remember that when Wolff entered the Panjab he arrived "at Attock, when he crossed a suspension bridge on the back of an elephant. According to his custom, whenever he crosses water, Wolff screamed out, which he did on this occasion in crossing the Indus."

Then, journeying on, this most valiant of cowards (for a right brave man he was, as all who know his history will testify) proceeded to the pleasant city of Gujrat, "a considerable town, which also belonged to Ranjit Singh. He arrived there late at night, and was brought to the palace of the governor, who had expected him ; when, to his great surprise, he heard some one singing 'Yankee Doodle,' with all the American snuffle. It was his Excellency the Governor himself. He was a fine tall gentleman, dressed in European clothing, and with an Indian hookah in his mouth." Wolff asked how he came to know "Yankee Doodle." He answered, in nasal tones, "I am a free citizen of the United States, from the state of Pennsylvania, city of Philadelphia. I am the son of a Quaker. My name is Josiah Harlan." As this man's history seemed romantic to Wolff, he recorded it (as far as it then went) with sufficient accuracy in the following words :—

"Harlan," he said, "had in his early life studied surgery, but he went out as supercargo in a ship to Canton. He then returned to America, where he had intended to marry a lady to whom he was engaged ; but she had played him false. He then went to India, and came to Calcutta, whence Lord Amherst, at that time Governor-General of India, sent him as assistant-surgeon with the British army to the Burmese empire. Afterwards he quitted the British army, and tried to make himself king of Afghanistan; but, although he actually took a fortress, he was defeated at last by a force sent against him by Ranjit Singh, which made him a prisoner. Ranjit Singh, seeing his talents, said to him, 'I will make you governor of Gujrat, and give you 3000 rupees a-month. If you behave well I will increase your salary ; if not, I will cut off your nose.' So Wolff found him, and his nose being entire was evidence that he had behaved well."

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Such was the story told by Harlan to Wolff, and recorded by the latter with his inimitable simplicity of manner, and it was fairly accurate. It is worth mentioning that Harlan's service in the first Burmese war was in the capacity of assistant-surgeon to the battery of artillery commanded by Major (afterwards Field-Marshal Sir) George Pollock.

Harlan did not distinguish himself in the British service, and soon left it, finding his way eventually to the Panjab frontier. It was not in Afghanistan (as he told Dr Wolff, or as the latter wrongly understood him) that Harlan set up the star-spangled banner, but on the debatable land south of the river Sutlej, over which Ranjit Singh claimed sovereignty and the British Indian Government exercised protection.

Whether or not Harlan crossed the Sutlej is doubtful, but he fell into the hands of Ranjit Singh, who took him into favour and gave him employment. Harlan now entered on the dangerous career of a secret agent—doubly dangerous in his case ; for not only did he act as envoy from Ranjit Singh to Dost Muhammad, visiting Afghanistan twice at least in that capacity, but he also was the agent in the Panjab of the exiled Shah Shuja, the legitimate king of Afghanistan.

In 1828 Harlan visited Kabul, travelling in the disguise of a dervish, and while ostensibly employed by Ranjit Singh, secretly intriguing in the interests of Shah Shuja. His mission was, in fact, to revolutionise Afghanistan, and with that object Harlan took up his abode in the house of one of the Amir's brothers.

Harlan evidently feels that some apology for his conduct is required, and exclained : "Let no Christian be deceived by the fraternal appellation. Amongst the customs of Orientals we meet with strange preversions of our commonest received principles, and the term 'brother' in a community which springs from a system of polygamy means a natural enemy, a domestic adversary, expectant heir of a capricious parent, contending for mastery in the disturbed arena of family feuds."

Harlan found Dost Muhammad too firmly established in power for his intrigues to meet with success, but his visit to Kabul was by no means wasted. He obtained the confidence of Dost Muhammad who admitted him to great intimacy. Harlan seems to have understood the greatness of his host's character, and in his 'Memoir' describes the Amir's manner of life in a most interesting way; indeed his sketch of Dost Muhammad's daily round is the most vivid that has been recorded. Harlan's style is turgid, but by no means devoid of power, and in his pages we see described Dost Muhammad's neglected childhood and dissolute youth ; his unexpected rise to power ; his public renunciation of the follies and crimes which had hitherto marked him ; his wisdom, strength, justice,

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and moderation when in power ; and his calm endurance in the day of adversity.

While thus observing and admiring the qualities of a great ruler, Harlan felt that life in the Panjab was more lucrative as well as more congenial than a precarious existence in Afghanistan. He returned, therefore, to Lahore, with a mission to act there as the agent of Dost Muhammad. His life at this time must indeed have been somewhat complicated.

For the next seven years Harlan was governor of Jasrata and Nurpore, and subsequently of Gujrat, gaining the confidence of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, and serving him for a time with zeal and ability ; but at the end of this period, it is stated by Sir Henry Lawrence that "any regard that may have obtained between them was converted into hate."

In 1835 Harlan was removed from his governorship. It is stated that Ranjit Singh found that Harlan was coining base money under the pretence of studying alchemy. Be this as it may, the Maharaja considered Harlan an eminently suitable person to act as his ambassador to Dost Muhammad, who was now threatening the town and province of Peshawar, so long in dispute between the Sikhs and Afghans. Harlan was sent with Fakir Azizuddin, the confidential barber and minister (oriental combination) of the Maharaja, with instructions to delay the Afghans until the Maharaja had gained sufficient time to assemble the Sikh army on the northern frontier.

Harlan states, with evident pride, that while ostensibly an ambassador, his real mission was to corrupt the Amir's chiefs, and sow distrust and disloyalty among them. An excuse for Harlan may be found in the conduct of Dost Muhammad, who, with all his merits as a ruler, was a consummate scoundrel if judged by the European standard of honour. He proposed on this occasion to seize Harlan and Azizuddin, the latter being known to be indispensable to the Maharaja (as he alone could prepare the mysteriously compounded cordial which gave the paralysed monarch fictitious strength), and to make use of them to compel Ranjit Singh to abandon Peshawar. This intended treachery towards the sacred persons of ambassadors perhaps justified Harlan's line of conduct : he knew the man he had to deal with.

To escape the odium which, even in the East, would have followed on the seizure of the envoys, the Amir made his brother, Sultan Muhammad Khan, swear many oaths on the Koran to make Harlan and the fakir prisoners. Harlan, however, found means to induce Sultan Muhammad Khan, who was the Afghan governor of the Peshawar province, to come to terms with Ranjit Singh and desert Dost Muhammad ; and the prince

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was the more readily led to that course of conduct by the feeling that the Amir would reap the benefit if the envoys were seized, while the odium would fall on himself, they being his guests.

Sultan Muhammad Khan, therefore, marched his followers, amounting to some 10,000 men, to the vicinity of the Sikh forces (which now confronted the Afghan army), and wrote to the Amir to announce his defection.

Masson, another adventurer, who was with Dost Muhammad at the time, gives a most amusing account of the transaction; and states that Sultan Muhammad's letter to his brother was couched in such abusive terms that when it was read in open durbar before the Amir many of those who heard it were obliged to go out from "the presence" to conceal their mirth. It was a case of "the biter bit" ; but it is somewhat humiliating to find that the most successful knave in so choice a collection was the white man. In consequence of this diplomatic success of Harlan, the Afghan army shortly melted away, Dost Muhammad was compelled to return to Kabul, and Peshawar was finally lost to the Afghans.

Harlan, however, had lost Ranjit Singh's favour, and soon left his service, whether by resignation or dismissal is not quite clear. Harlan himself writes : "Monarch as he was, absolute and luxurious, and voluptuous in the possession of treasured wealth and military power, I resolved to avenge myself and cause him to tremble in the midst of his magnificence. " With this benevolent intention he left the Panjab and entered Dost Muhammad's service towards the end of the year 1836. He states that the Amir "received him with much the same feeling of exultation that the King of Persia is known to have indulged when his Court was visited by Themistocles."

Dost Muhammad, he states, received him as a brother and addressed him by that title, seated him in durbar at his side, gave him the command of his regular troops, and at his instigation again declared war against the Sikhs, who had recently annoyed him by erecting a fort at Jamrud, which commanded the mouth of the Khaibar Pass.

In the battle which took place before this port in April 1837 the Sikh general, Hari Singh, was slain, and, as Harlan puts it, "the proud King of Lahore quailed on his threatened throne, as he exclaimed with terror and despair, 'Harlan has avenged himself—this is all his work.'" However, as a matter of history, the Afghans shortly afterwards retreated from the frontier without again giving battle.

In the following year (1838) Harlan was sent in charge of a military expedition, despatched by Dost Muhammad against the Prince of Kunduz. His account of his exploits is too good to lose. "In the execution of this

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enterprise," he writes, "I surmounted the Indian Caucasus, and there upon the mountain heights unfurled my country's banner to the breeze under a salute of twenty-six guns. On the highest pass of the frosty Caucasus, that of Kharzar, 12,500 feet above the sea, the star-spangled banner gracefully waved amid the icy peaks and soilless rugged rocks of a sterile region, seemingly sacred to the solitude of an undisturbed eternity. We ascended passes through regions where glaciers and silent dells, and frowning rocks, blackened by ages of weather-beaten fame, preserved the quiet domain of remotest time, shrouded in perennial snow. We struggled on amidst the heights of these alpine ranges—until now supposed inaccessible to the labour of man—infantry and cavalry, artillery, camp-followers, and beast of burden"—and so forth. The General was, in fact, a poet as well as a doctor and a soldier.

During this expedition he became also a sovereign prince, the crown of Ghor having been secured to him and his heirs by a voluntary act of the then prince, Muhammad Raffi Bey, although, as he writes, he "looked upon kingdoms and principalities as of frivolous import, when weighed in the balance of the more honourable and estimable title of American citizen."

It is not recorded that the General met with any striking military successes ; but there is some interest for us in the personality of a youthful prince, who was intrusted to his care and tuition, and who was the nominal commander of the expedition. This was Akram Khan, son of the Amir "by a Highland lassie, whom he married to strengthen his authority in the Kohistan," or hill country. Akram Khan subsequently commanded the contingent sent by Dost Muhammad to strengthen the Sikhs against the British in 1848.

Harlan made his last appearance as a negotiator in August 1839, when Lord Keane's army approached Kabul. The General tells us that Dost Muhammad and his chiefs unanimously decided to depute him to meet Sir Alexander Burnes, with absolute power to make any settlement that he might think advisable. An official was, he says, despatched to Burnes's secretary (the worthy Mohan Lal), conveying an intimation of the appointment of Harlan as plenipotentiary, and by return of the messenger an official response was received, indirectly declining the proposition by deferring the measure to a more convenient opportunity.

Eventually Burnes, or more probably the envoy, Sir William M'Naughton declined to treat in any way with the Amir, who consequently withdrew from the neighbourhood of Kabul.

Harlan gives a dramatic account of the abandonment of Dost Muhammad by all his principal followers, which, in the words of Kaye,

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only wants a conviction of its entire truth to be most interesting and valuable.

Harlan's last appearance at Kabul is eminently characteristic. On the arrival of the British army at that city Dost Muhammad fled to the mountain country in the north, and was promptly deserted by Harlan, who is last mentioned as having breakfast with Sir Alexander Burnes on the morning after the latter arrived at the capital.

Of how Harlan found his way to India, and thence to Philadelphia, we are told nothing, yet we cannot but admire the adroitness with which he must have managed his journey through the Panjab. Doubtless the death of Ranjit Singh, who had expired on the 27the June, 1839, spared the General an awkward meeting. As to the later days of this strange character history is silent.

VI. GENERAL VAN CORTLANDT

Henry Charles Van Cortlandt was the son of Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Clinton Van Cortlandt of the 31st Regiment. He was educated in England, and entered the service of Maharaja Ranjit Singh in 1832. He served in the various frontier campaigns that occurred yearly during the lifetime of the Maharaja, and was present at the battle of Jamrud, in which the Sikh general, Hari Singh Nalwa, was killed.

Van Cortlandt, then a colonel, served with the Sikh contingent which shared in Sir George Pollock's operations in the Khaibar Pass, and he was also present (as is mentioned by Colonel Gardner) at the seige of Lahore by Maharaja Sher Singh.

Sher Singh gave Colonel Van Cortlandt charge of his eldest son, Prince Partab Singh ; but Van Cortlandt was shortly afterwards sent away from Lahore on military duty, and during his absence the Maharaja and Partab Singh were murdered by the Sindhanwalia sardars, as is related by Colonel Gardner.

When the first Sikh war with the British broke out Van Cortlandt was on leave at Mussoorie, and not being allowed to return to Lahore, proceeded to Ferozepur. Finally he was employed with the British army as Political Agent, and in that capacity was present at the battles of Ferozeshah and Sobraon. After the war Van Cortlandt returned to the Sikh service with the rank of general, and was made governor of the province of Dera Ishmail Khan.

On the outbreak at Multan, which was the first symptom of the second Sikh war, General Van Cortlandt loyally supported Lieutenant (afterwards Sir) Herbert Edwardes, and took an honourable part in the gallantly fought actions of Kinari and Sadusam. It deserves mention that Mrs Van Cortlandt showed herself on this, as on other occasions, the fit

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wife of a soldier—suppressing by her own vigour and courage an incipient mutiny.

On the annexation of the Panjab in 1849 General Van Cortlandt was transferred to the British service, and was employed in a civil capacity; but on the outbreak of the Indian Mutiny the General again drew the sword, raised a field force in the district in which he was employed, and with it rendered valuable service, fighting several successful actions with the rebels. For this service General Van Cortlandt was made a Companion of the Bath.

Particular importance was attached to the conduct of Van Cortlandt's force, as it was then considered doubtful if the Sikhs, so recently conquered, were to be trusted. However, the old soldiers of the two regiments (the Suruj Mukhi and Katur Mukhi) which Van Cortlandt had long commanded in the Panjab remained staunch.

General Van Cortlandt's last civil post was that of Commissioner of Multan, where he remained till his retirement in March 1868.

He survived his retirement twenty years, dying in London on March 15, 1888 at the age of seventy-four.

VII. COLONEL FORD

Colonel Mathew William Ford, whose melancholy fate will presently be related, entered the English army as ensign in the 8th West India Regiment in the year 1803. He became a lieutenant in the 70th Regiment in the following year, and captain in the same regiment in 1812. He remained eleven years in this rank, serving successively in the 70th, 7th Fusiliers, and 1st Royals, from which regiment he exchanged to the half-pay list of the 24th Light Dragoons.

In 1823 he became paymaster of the 16th Regiment, and leaving the British service in 1837, entered the Sikh army towards the end of that year or early in 1838. He is shown by the Khalsa Durbar Acquittance Rolls to have drawn pay at 800 rupees per mensem, in the latter year.

There are occasional references to Colonel Ford in books and magazines of the period, and it is recorded that the regiment of the Khalsa army which he commanded was one of those which lined the streets of Lahore at the funeral of Maharaja Ranjit Singh.

On the occasion of the mutiny of the Sikh army during the reign of Maharaja Sher Singh, recorded by Gardner, Colonel Mathew Ford was one of the victims. He was plundered by his men of everything that he possessed, even to the ring on his finger, and so maltreated that he died at Peshawar, which place he barely contrived to reach alive. He is said to have been an estimable and very amiable man.

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VIII. COLONEL FOULKES

The fate of this officer was even worse than that of Colonel Ford. I have been able to discover nothing concerning his antecedents, and but a brief statement that he entered the Sikh service in the year 1835. The Khalsa Durbar Acquittance Rolls bear that his pay was 500 rupees per mensem, and he is shown in Gardner's list of the European officers as employed in the infantry branch.

At the time of the mutiny of the Sikh army under Maharaja Sher Singh, Colonel Foulkes was, however (it is stated by Steinbach), stationed at Mandi, in command of a large body of cavalry, where he fell a victim to the ferocity of his men.

Colonel Foulkes, who was universally beloved, was warned of his peril and urged to escape, but, with a spirit worthy of his English birth, he resolved to remain at his post and take the consequences. During the night he was attacked by the Sikh soldiers, who cut him down, and with demoniacal ferocity threw him on a blazing fire before life was extinct.

IX. CAPTAIN ARGOUD

This officer, who is said to have been the best drill-instructor in the Sikh army, was for a considerable time in the service of Ranjit Singh, but unfortunately quarrelled with both Sikhs and Europeans, and being also of very intemperate habits, was eventually compelled to leave the Panjab and seek employment in Afghanistan.

While travelling thither, by way of Sind, Argoud fell in with a small party of wayfarers, who afterwards became famous. These were Alexander Burnes and his companions Wood and Lord, who were proceeding from Bombay to Kabul, and had reached Bhawalpur on the 2nd May 1837. Captain Wood, in his delightful 'Journey to the Source of the Oxus,' tells the tale of the encounter so amusingly that I present the narrative precisely as he wrote it :—

"While here, we had an amusing visitor in the person of a Monsieur Argoud. He had quarrelled with Ranjit Singh and his countrymen in the Panjab, and was proceeding to join Dost Muhammad Khan of Kabul.

"We were at dinner when the Frenchman arrived, but no sooner was a European announced than Captain Burnes ran out to bring him in, and before many minutes had elapsed Monsieur Argoud had taken wine with every one at table.

"The poor man's failing was soon apparent, for he proceeded to beat the tattoo with his elbows on the table, and as a tenor accompaniment he made a knife vibrate between its under surface and his thumb. It was really done very cleverly, and the performance being highly applauded,

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the complaisant Frenchman knew not when to desist. Fatigue, sleep, and wine at length got the mastery, and we saw him safely to bed.

"Next morning at an early hour our guest was astir, roaming up and down the courtyard till he chanced to stumble on Lord, engaged in dissecting and stuffing birds.

"Watching him for some time, he exclaimed, 'Quelle patience !' and with a shrug of the shoulders passed into Captain Burnes's room.

"That officer was not yet dressed, on which Monsieur Argoud called out, 'Why, sare, the battle of Wagram was fought before this hour, and you are still in *deshabille*. Will you take vine vith me ?' 'No,' replied Captain Burnes, 'I never take wine before breakfast, but I shall order you some claret, as your countrymen, I am aware, like light wine in the morning.' 'Then, sare,' replied Argoud, 'you insult me, you refuse to take vine vith me, and I demand de satisfaction.'

"He ran out, and soon reappeared armed with a rapier, and asked Captain Burnes to send for his small-sword ; but the latter thought that, considering the shortness of their acquaintance, he had already sufficiently humoured this fiery little Frenchman, and Monsieur Argoud was politely requested to continue his journey, which he accordingly did that same evening.

"This unfortunate gentleman had many good points in his character, but they were unknown to us at the time of his first visit. As a soldier and drill-officer he was the first in the Panjab ; but his drunken habits and violent temper made him disliked by his brother-officers.

"At Kabul in October following we fell in with him a second time, so that his journey from the Indus had occupied him fully five months. Whilst on the road his dislike to Mussulmans had nearly cost him his life. It was only spared on his repeating the Kalmah or Mahomedan creed.

"Immediately on his arrival being known to us, Captain Burnes sent him a kind note, inquiring if he could be of any service to him ; but the good hearted Frenchman was so ashamed of his conduct at Bhawalpur, and so oppressed by this unexpected return, that he could not be persuaded to visit us, and on his failing to obtain employment from Dost Muhammad Khan, he set out for Peshawar without our having met him.

"We, however, learned that the day previous to his departure he had been employed in moulding leaden bullets, and that he had sworn to be revenged on the Mussulmans for the ill-treatment on his former journey.

"The cause of Monsieur Argoud's failure in obtaining service was his ignorance of the Persian language.

"Dost Muhammad Khan was partial to him, and though regretting his attachment to the bottle, offered him a regiment.

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"Unfortunately for the Frenchman, the interpreter took advantage of his ignorance of the language, and in reply to a question on Argoud's qualifications for command, reported as his answer that if the Amir wanted a *drummer*, he could not suit himself better. The Frenchman required but little pressing to beat a tatoo, and the result was that he got his discharge that evening, and next day the interpreter (a brother adventurer) obtained the regiment."

Sir Alexander Burnes adds to the above account that "Benoit Argoud was a red-hot Republican ; his father had been killed at the battle of Wagram. He reached Kabul by way of the Bolan Pass and Kandhar—no easy feat."

I can only add to the above the information that Argoud not only found his way back to the Panjab from Afghanistan in 1838, as appears from the following letter to Sir Claude Wade, which has been kindly lent to me by Mr. C.F. Wade :—

(Translation.)

Kabul, 12th August 1839.

Tres Aimable Colonel,—A terrible destiny has again brought me to this savage country, and no better off than on the first occasion.

I found myself at Calcutta quite without money, and it was therefore impossible for me to return to France. I returned to Kurnal, where I was deceived by false rumours. I set out for Kandhar, but on arriving there I found that King Shuja-al-Mulk was prevented, by treaty with Great Britain, from employing foreigners. Colonel Burnes truly treated me more like a father than a stranger ; he is a most worthy man, and I shall never forget him.

I hope to have the pleasure of seeing you soon.

Agreez, Monsieur le Colonel, I'assurance de la parfaite consideration avec laquelle j'ai I' honneur de vous saluer,

Argoud.

We may hope that the generosity of Burnes and Wade provided Argoud with a passage to "la bella France," —at any rate, he appears no more in Afghanistan or the Panjab.

X. COLONEL CANORA

When Colonel Canora entered the service of Ranjit Singh I do not know, nor is there any record of the early days of his service in the Panjab, nor of his previous life. The story of his death is, however, an honourable one.

In the year 1848 Canora was serving in the province of Hazara, in command of a battery of artillery. The troops in this province were notoriously mutinous, and Sardar Chatter Singh, the governor, shared in

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their disaffection, and even encouraged it. On the 6th August Colonel Canora, an American by birth, described to me by General Sir James Abbott as "a rude, uncultured man, but brave and loyal," was ordered by Chatter Singh to bring his guns out of the fort of Harripur, and to encamp on the open ground outside the city. This, Colonel Canora, who suspected the treasonable intentions of Chattar Singh, refused to do, unless with the sanction of Captain Abbott, the British Commissioner in Hazara. Sir James Abbott, in a letter to me, thus relates the sequel :—

"Canora replied that the guns had been posted by me, and begged permission to refer to me previous to altering their position; and immediately despatched a letter to me, asking what he was to do.

"The *sardar* sent a company of infantry to storm his guns. Canora ordered his men to load them with double charges of grape, and to fire. The men, overawed, refused. He seized and applied the port-fire ; the guns burnt priming—they had not been loaded. Canora stood at bay, pistol in hand. An armed servant of the *sardar* crept behind him and shot him through the back ; then, cutting off his head, carried it to Chattar Singh and received from him a reward of £100.

"The Resident, Sir Frederick Currie, declared that it served him right; but I pronounced it murder, and the Governor-General and his Council backed my verdict.

" I raised a rude monument to Canora's memory, with an inscription, on the spot where he fell. A small pension was allotted to his family."

So died a brave and determined soldier in the performance of his duty.

The rebellion of Chattar Singh was followed by that of his son Sher Singh, and the results were the second Sikh war and the consequent annexation of the Panjab.

XI. COLONEL THOMAS

All who love to read romances of real life should know the strange story of George Thomas, the irish sailor who by sheer courage and enterprise rose to be a reigning sovereign. His story may be found in the work by Mr Herbert Compton, *The European Military Adventurers of Hindustan*.

Colonel Jacob Thomas, who commanded a *najib*, or foreign (i.e., non-Panjabi) regiment in Ranjit Singh's army, was the son of George Thomas, but a man of a very different character.

Sir Claude Wade and his officers found Jacob Thomas and his regiment at Peshawar in March 1839, and Barr, the historian of the party,

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describes Thomas as "a dull and heavy man." Thomas was quite unable to exercise authority over his regiment, which mutinied on the 14th April, and turned Thomas and his adjutant out of their camp. As a mark of contempt for Thomas they inverted his chair on the spot where he usually sat. Sir Claude Wade informed the regiment that they could no longer remain with his troops'; but how the matter ended is not recorded, nor have I found any further mention of Colonel Thomas.

XII. LESLE OR RATTRAY

This individual is mentioned by Gardner as one of Ranjit Singh's officers, but I have found no other mention of him in connection with the Panjab. Sir Alexander Burnes and his campanions found him, however, serving under the name of Rattray, as commandant of Fort Ali Masjid in the Khaibar Pass. This was in September 1837, soon after the battle at Jamrud, a few miles distant, in which the Sikhs had been defeated by the Afghans.

Captain Wood describes Rattray as "an ill-conditioned, dissipated-looking Englishman, slipshod, turnbaned and robed in a sort of Afghan *deshabille*—having more the look of a dissipated priest than a military man. His abode was a cave in the mountain, from which he and his hungry followers levied blackmail on the passing *kafilas*.

"The Sikh fortress of Jamrud depended for water on the stream that runs through the Khaibar, and the chief occupation of the young lieutenant-colonel, for so he styled himself, was to stop the supply, and again to permit it to flow on being bribed to do so."

Wood amusingly describes Rattray's attempt to manoeuvre his corps, which speedily resulted in a cudgel attack by the lieutenant-colonel on his men. Before the day was over he had modestly requested a loan of £50 to defray the expenses of the march to Kabul, and, by the simple process of dividing his men into guards on the mission, succeeded in inducing Burnes to supply them all with food.

Soon afterwards, during the stay of the mission at Kabul, Colonel Leslie, *alias* Rattray, changed his name for the second time and his religion with it. He declared himself a convert to the Muhammadan faith, and took the name of Fida Muhammad Khan, much against the wish of Dost Muhammad Khan, who thought him a disgrace to any creed, and expressed in strong terms the contempt he felt for men who could change their religion to improve their fortune.

The Khaibar commandant, says Wood, was altogether a singular character, void of all principle, but clever and well informed.

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His biography, which he wrote at the request of Sir Alexander Burnes, is said to have afforded another proof of how often the real events of life exceed in interest the wildest conceptions of fiction. I have not been able to discover this biography, if it ever was published.

XII. COLONEL MOUTON

An officer of a very different stamp was Colonel Francois Henri Mouton, who was born on the 17th August 1804, and entered a French cavalry regiment as a volunteer at the age of eighteen. Four years later Mouton was a "garde de troisieme classe," ranking as a sub-lieutenant in the royal body-guard. In October 1838 Mouton was a captain of Spahis of three years' standing, and finding himself unemployed, obtained permission to live in India for three years. This he did at the suggestion of General Ventura, who was about to return to the Panjab from leave of absence. Captain Mouton, who was accompanied by his charming and courageous wife, accompanied General Ventura to India, travelling from Bombay by the most direct road to Lahore, that by Ajmir and Hansi.

Colonel Mouton was employed as a commandant of cavalry, and having entered on a second period of service, he and Madame Mouton narrowly escaped death in the mutiny of the Sikh army during the reign of Maharaja Sher Singh. Nothing deterred, Colonel Mouton,who had visited France in 1844, returned to India in the month of September of that year, and remained in the Panjab until the outbreak of the first Sikh war.

The official record of his services states that Colonel Mouton returned to France in July 1846, and in the April following was restored to full pay.

Colonel Mouton received the decoration of the Legion of Honour in 1848, and was promoted to the grade of "officer" in 1856 for services in the Crimean campaign, for which he received also the Order of the Medjidis of the 4th class. The gallant colonel was finally placed *enretraite* on account of length of service in January 1865, and died in Algiers in November 1876.

XIV. COLONEL HURBON

Another gallant soldier was Colonel Hurbon, a Spanish officer, who was employed as an engineer. He is said to have been the first man in the assaults on the fortress of Lahore during its siege by Maharaja Sher Singh, and Gardner states that Hurbon planned the earthworks at Sobraon. Cunningham, the historian of the Sikhs, who was himself an engineer, says that the lines showed no trace whatever of scientific skill or of unity of design. In his opinion Colonel Hurbon's influence and authority did not extend beyond a regiment or a brigade.

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Colonel Hurbon is chiefly interesting as having been the only European officer who actually served with the Sikh army against the British.

XV. COLONEL STEINBACH

Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Steinbach commanded an infantry regiment in the Sikh army, and wrote a little book about the Panjab. In the mutiny of the Sikh army in 1843 Colonel Steinbach narrowly escaped with his life. It is related that the men of his regiment adopted a most unpleasant method of showing their dislike and contempt for him.

He subsequently entered the service of Maharaja Gulab Singh, and commanded his army at the time of the second Sikh war.

XVI. CAPTAIN DE LA FONT

Auguste de la Font was aide-de-camp to General Ventura, and in that capacity was in attendance on the General at Peshawar in 1839. When Ventura was prevented by the intrigues which followed the death of Ranjit Singh from proceeding to Kabul in command of the Muhammadan contingent of the Khalsa army, Captain de la Font acted as staff officer to Colonel Wade. In this capacity he rendered good service both in action at the taking of Fort Ali Masjid, and subsequently in aiding to keep the peace between the Khalsa contingent and Colonel Wade's somewhat unruly force.

At the siege of Lahore (described by Colonel Gardner) De la Font is said to have nearly gained access to the fortress by mining, when the operations were brought to a termination by Dhyan Singh.

XVII. CAPTAIN M'PHERSON

This gentleman, described as "a respectable officer," after serving in Ranjit Singh's army, entered the service of the Nawab of Bhawalpur, who gave him command of a regiment of regular infantry.

Captain M'Pherson served with the Bhawalpur contingent in Sir Herbert Edwardes's campaign against Multan, and was killed at the head of his regiment at the battle of Sadusam on July 1, 1848. He was buried on the following morning with military honours.

XVIII. MESSRS CAMPBELL AND GARRON

These gentlemen are mentioned by Masson the traveller as commanding regiments in the Sikh army. They are included in Gardner's list, but there is no further information concerning them.

Mr. Campbell is very probably identical with the gallant officer of that name who raised Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk's Hindustani regiment, and was deserted by the Shah at Kandhar on the occasion of his defeat by

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Dost Muhammad. Mr Campbell's conduct was most gallant : he was severely wounded, and was succoured by Dost Muhammad, whose service he entered.

Mr. Carron may stand for Carron, a secret agent of the British Government, and a man of strange adventures.

REMAINING OFFICERS

Of the remaining officers but few particulars are to be gleaned.

Messrs Alvarine (23), Hommus (24), and Amise (25) died at Lahore at different periods. Hes (26), the Greek officer, was murdered in the streets of the same city. Captain De la Roche (27) was killed there by a fall from his horse.

Dubuignon (28), described as an estimable young man, was in the service of the Begum Sumroo. There he was picked up by General Ventura, who was visiting India for the good of his health. Ventura treated him with great kindness, and eventually married him to his own sister-in-law.

John Holmes, No.29 on the Gardner's list, and the last of whom any particulars were given, was a man of mixed parentage. He was a worthy old soldier, and passed for a Christian, at Peshawar, when Sir Herbert Edwardes was there, though he had more than one wife. John Holmes did good service with Edwardes and Van Cortlandt in the advance on Multan in 1848, and was eventually murdered by some of his own men. His family sent in a claim for compensation to the Indian Government, in which were specified, among other dependants, *two mothers*.

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APPENDIX

TEXT OF THE TREATIES (1806-49)

1. THE TREATY WITH LAHORE OF 1806

Treaty of Friendship and Unity between the Honourable East India Company and the Sardars Ranjit Singh and Fateh Singh. Sardar Ranjit Singh and Sardar Fateh Singh have consented to the following articles of agreement, concluded by Lieutenant-Colonel John Malcolm, under the special authority of the right Honourable Lord Lake, himself duly authorized by the Honourable Sir George Hilaro Barlow, Bart., Governor-General, and Sardar Fateh Singh, as principal on the part of himself, and plenipotentiary on the part of Ranjit Singh:-

Article 1. Sardar Ranjit Singh and Sardar Fateh Singh Ahluwalia hereby agree that they will cause Jaswant Rao Holkar to remove with his army to the distance of thirty coss from Amritsar immediately, and will never hereafter hold any further connection with him, or aid or assist him with troops, or in any other manner whatever; and they further agree that they will not in any way molest such of Jaswant Rao Holkar's followers or troops as are desirous of returning to their homes in the Deccan, but, on the contrary, will render them every assistance in their power for carrying such intention into execution.

Article 2. The British Government hereby agrees, that in case a pacification should not be effected between that Government and Jaswant Rao Holkar, the British army shall move from its present encampment, on the banks of the river Beas, as soon as Jaswant Rao Holkar, aforesaid shall have marched his army to the distance of thirty coss from Amritsar; and that, in any treaty which may hereafter be concluded between the British Government and

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Jaswant Rao Holkar, it shall be stipulated that, immediately after the conclusion of the said treaty, Holkar shall evacuate the territories of the Sikhs, and march towards his own, and that he shall in no way whatever injure or destroy such parts of the Sikh country as may lie in his route. The British Government further agrees that, as long as the said Chieftains, Ranjit Singh and Fateh Singh, abstain from holding any friendly connection with the enemies of that Government, or from committing any act of hostility on their own parts against the said Government, the British armies shall never enter the territories of the said Chieftains, nor will the British Government form any plans for the seizure or sequestration of their possessions or property.

Dated 1st January, 1806.

2. SIR DAVID OCHTERLONEY'S PROCLAMATION OF 1809

Precept or 'Ittillah Nameh', under the Seal of the General St. Leger, and under the Seal and Signature of Colonel Ochterloney; written the 9th February, 1809, corresponding to the 23rd Zee Hijeh, 1223, Hijri.

The British army having encamped near the frontiers of the Maharaja Ranjit Singh, it has been thought proper to signify the pleasure of the British Government, by means of this precept, in order to make all the Chiefs of the Maharaja acquainted with the sentiments of the British Government, which have solely for their object and aim to confirm the friendship with the Maharaja, and to prevent any injury to his country, the preservation of friendship between the two States depending on particular conditions which are hereby detailed.

The Thanas in the fortress of Kharar, Khanpur, and other places on this side of the river Sutlej, which have been placed in the hands of the dependants of the Maharaja, shall be razed, and the same places restored to their ancient possessors.

The force of cavalry and infantry which may have crossed to this side of the Sutlej must be recalled to the other side, to the country of the Maharaja.

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The troops stationed at the Ghat of Phillaur must march thence, and depart to the other side of the river as described and in future the troops of the Maharaja shall never advance into the country of the Chiefs situated on this side of the river, who have called in for their security and protection Thanas of the British Government; but if in the manner that the British have placed Thanas of moderate number on this side of the Sutlej, if in like manner a small force by way of Thana be stationed at the Ghat of Phillaur, it will not be objected to.

If the Maharaja perseveres in the fulfilment of the above stipulations which he so repeatedly professed to do in presence of Mr. Metcalfe, such fulfilment will confirm the mutual friendship. In case of non-compliance with these stipulations, then shall it be plain that the Maharaja has no regard for the friendship of the British, but, on the contrary, resolves on enmity. In such case the victorious British army shall commence every mode of defence.

The communication of this precept is solely with the view of publishing the sentiments of the British, and to know those of the Maharaja. The British are confident that the Maharaja will consider the contents of this precept as abounding to his real advantage, and as affording a conspicuous proof of their friendship; that with their capacity for war, they are also intent on peace.

3. PROCLAMATION OF PROTECTION TO CIS-SUTLEJ STATES AGAINST LAHORE

Dated 3rd May, 1809

Translation of an 'Ittilah Nameh', addressed to the Chiefs of the Country of Malwa and Sirhind, on this side of the River Sutlej.

It is clearer than the sun, and better proved than the existence of yesterday, that the marching of a detachment of British troops to this side of the river Sutlej was entirely at the application and earnest entreaty of the several Chiefs, and originated solely from friendly considerations in the British Government, to preserve them in their possessions and independence. A treaty having been concluded, on the 25th of April, 1809, between Mr. Metcalfe on the part of the British Government, and Maharaja Ranjit Singh,

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agreeably to the orders of the Right Honourable the Governor-General in Council, I have the pleasure of publishing, for the satisfaction of the Chiefs of the country of Malwa and Sirhind, the pleasure and resolutions of the British Government, as contained in the seven following articles:—

Article 1. The country of the Chiefs of Malwa and Sirhind having entered under the British protection, they shall in future be secured from the authority and influence of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, conformably to the terms of the treaty.

Article 2. All the country of the Chiefs thus taken under protection shall be exempted from all pecuniary tribute to the British Government.

Article 3. The Chiefs shall remain in the full exercise of the same rights and authority in their own possessions which they enjoyed before they were received under the British protection.

Article 4. Should a British force, on purposes of general welfare, be required to march through the country of the said Chiefs, it is necessary and incumbent that every Chief shall, within his own possessions, assist and furnish, to the full of his power, such force with supplies of grain and other necessaries which may be demanded.

Article 5. Should an enemy approach from any quarter for the purpose of conquering this country, friendship and mutual interest required that the Chiefs join the British army with all their force, and, exerting themselves in expelling the enemy, act under discipline and proper obedience.

Article 6. All European articles brought by merchants from the eastern district for the use of the army shall be allowed to pass, by the Thanadars and Sardars of the several Chiefs, without molestation and the demand of duty.

Article 7. All horses purchased for the use of cavalry regiments, whether in the district of Sirhind or elsewhere, the bringers of which being provided with sealed 'Rahdaries' from the Resident at Delhi or officer commending at Sirhind, shall be allowed to pass through the country of the said Chiefs without molestation or the demand of duty.

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4. THE TREATY WITH LAHORE OF 1809
TREATY BETWEEN THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT AND THE RAJA OF LAHORE

Dated 25rd April, 1809

Whereas certain differences which had arisen between the British Government and the Raja of Lahore have been happily and amicably adjusted; and both parties being anxious to maintain relations of perfect amity and concord, the following articles of treaty, which shall be binding on the heirs and successors of the two parties, have been concluded by the Raja Ranjit Singh in person, and by the agency of C.T. Metcalfe, Esquire, on the part of the British Government.

Article 1. Perpetual friendship shall subsist between the British Government and the State of Lahore; the latter shall be considered, with respect to the former, to be on the footing of the most favoured powers, and the British Government will have no concern with the territories and subjects of the Raja to the northward of the river Sutlej.

Article 2. The Raja will never maintain in the territory which he occupies on the left bank of the river Sutlej more troops than are necessary for the internal duties of that territory, nor commit or suffer any encroachments on the possessions or rights of the Chiefs in its vicinity.

Article 3. In the event of a violation of any of the preceding articles, or of a departure from the rules of friendship, this treaty shall be considered null and void.

Article 4. This treaty consisting of four articles, having been settled and concluded at Amritsar, on the 25th day of April, 1809, Mr. C.T. Metcalfe has delivered to the Raja of Lahore a copy of the same in English and Persian, under his seal and signature; and the Raja has delivered another copy of the same under his seal and signature; and Mr. C.T. Metcalfe engages to procure within the space of two months a copy of the same, duly ratified by Right Honourable the Governor-General in Council, on the receipt of which by the Raja, the present treaty shall be deemed complete and binding on both parties, and the copy of it now delivered to the

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Raja shall be returned.

(Ratified by the Governor General, Lord Minto on May 21, 1809)

5. PROCLAMATION OF PROTECTION TO CIS-SUTLEJ STATES AGAINST ONE ANOTHER

For the Information and Assurance of the Protected Chiefs of the Plains between the Sutlej and Jumna (22nd August, 1811).

On the 3rd May, 1809, an 'Ittilah Nameh' comprised of seven articies, was issued by the orders of the British Government, purporting that the country of the Sardars of Sirhind and Malwa having come under their protection, Raja Ranjit Singh, agreeable to treaty, had no concern with the possessions of the above Sardars; that British Government had no intention of claiming Peishkashs or Nazarana, and that they should continue in the full control and enjoyment of their respective possessions: The publication of the above 'Ittilah Nameh' was intended to afford every confidence to the Sardars, that the protection of the country was the sole object, that they had no intention of control, and that those having possessions should remain in full and complete enjoyment thereof.

Whereas several Zamindars and other subjects of the Chiefs of this country have preferred complaints to the officers of the British Government, who having in view the tenor of the above 'Ittilah Nameh' have not attended, and will not in future pay attention to them; for instance, on the 15th of June, 1817, Delawar Ali Khan of Samana complained to the Resident of Delhi against the officers of Raja Sahib Singh for jewels and other property said to have been seized by them, who, in reply, observed, that the "Cusba of Samana being in the Amildari of Raja Sahib Singh, his complaint should be made to him"; and also, on the 12th July, 1811, Dussowndha Singh and Gurmukh Singh complained to Colonel Ochterloney, Agent to the Governor-General, against Sardar Charat Singh, for their shares of property, and c.; and, in reply it was written on the back of their Arzi, "that since, during the period of three years, no claim was preferred against Charat Singh by any of his brothers, nor even the name of any co-partner mentioned; and since it was advertised in the 'Ittilah Nameh' delivered to the

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Sardars, that every Chief should remain in the quiet and full enjoyment of his domains, the petition could not be attended to,"—the insertion of these answers to complaints is intended as examples, and also that it may be impressed on the minds of every Zamindar and other subject, that the attainment of justice is to be expected from their respective Chiefs only, that they may not, in the smallest degree, swerve from the observation of subordination. It is, therefore, highly incumbent upon the Rajas and other Sardars of this side of the river Sutlej, that they explain this to their respective subjects, and court their confidence, that it may be clear to them, that complaints to the officers of the British Government will be of no avail, and that they consider their respective Sardars as the source of justice, and that, of their free will and accord, they observe uniform obedience.

And whereas, according to the first proclamation, it is not the intention of the British Government to interfere in the possessions of the Sardars of this country, it is nevertheless, for the purpose of ameliorating the condition of the community, particularly necessary to give general information, that several Sardars have, since the last incursion of Raja Ranjit Singh, wrested the estates of others, and deprived them of their lawful possessions,and that in the restoration, they have used delays until detachments of the British army have been sent to effect restitution, as in the case of the Rani of Tirah, the Sikhs of Chulian, the Talukas of Karauli and Chehloundy, and the village of Chiba; and the reason of such delays and evasions can only be attributed to the temporary enjoyment of the revenues and subjecting the owners to irremediable losses,—It is, therefore, by order of the British Government, hereby proclaimed that if any one of the Sardars or others has forcibly taken possession of the estates of others, or otherwise injured the lawful owners, it is necessary that before the occurrence of any complaint, the proprietor should be satisfied and by no means to defer the restoration of the property,—in which, however, should delays be made, and the interference of the British authority become requisite, the revenues of the estate from the date of ejection of the lawful proprietor, together with whatever other losses the inhabitants of that place may sustain from the march of

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troops, shall without scruple be demanded from the offending party; and for disobedience of the present orders, a penalty, according to the circumstances of the case and of the offender, shall be levied, agreeably to the decision of the British Government.

6. DECLARAION OF WAR OF 1845

Proclamation by the Governor-General of India

Camp, Lashkari Khan ki Sarai,
December 13th, 1845.

The British Government has ever been on terms of friendship with that of the Punjab.

In the year 1809, a treaty of amity and concord was concluded between the British Government and the late Maharaja Ranjit Singh, the conditions of which have always been faithfully observed by the British Government and were scrupulously fulfilled by the late Maharaja.

The same friendly relations have been maintained with the successors of Maharaja Ranjit Singh by the British Government up to the present time.

Since the death of the late Maharaja Sher Singh, the disorganised state of the Lahore Government has made it incumbent on the Governor-General in Council to adopt precautionary measures for the protecion of the British frontier: the nature of these measures, and the cause of their adoption, were, at the time, fully explained to the Lahore Durbar.

Notwithstanding the disorganised state of the Lahore Government during the last two years, and many most unfriendly proceedings on the part of the Durbar, the Governor-General in Council has continued to evince his desire to maintain the relations of amity and concord which had so long existed between the two States, for the mutual interests and happiness of both. He has shown, on every occasion, the utmost forbearance, and consideration to the helpless state of the infant Maharaja Dalip Singh, whom the British Government had recognized as the successor to the late Maharaja Sher Singh.

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The Governor-General in Council sincerely desired to see a strong Sikh Government re-established in the Punjab, able to control its army, and to protect its subjects; he had not, up to the present moment, abandoned the hope of seeing that important object effected by the patriotic efforts of the Chiefs and people of that country.

The Sikh army recently marched from Lahore towards the British frontier, as it was alleged, by the orders of the Durbar, for the purpose of invading the British territory.

The Governor-General's agent, by direction of the Governor-General, demanded an explanation of this movement, and no reply being returned within a reasonable time, the demand was repeated. The Governor-General, unwilling to believe in the hostile intentions of the Sikh Government, to which no provocation had been given, refrained from taking any measures which might have a tendency to embarrass the Government of the Maharaja, or to induce collision between the two States.

When no reply was given to the repeated demand for explanation, while active military preparations were continued at Lahore, the Governor-General considered it necessary to order the advance of troops towards the frontier, to reinforce the frontier posts.

The Sikh army has now, without a shadow of provocation, invaded the British territories.

The Governor-General must, therefore, take measures for effectually protecting the British provinces, for vindicating the authority of the British Government, and for punishing the violators of treaties and the disturbers of the public peace.

The Governor-General hereby declares the possessions of Maharaja Dalip Singh, on the left or British bank of the Sutlej, confiscated and annexed to the British territories.

The Governor-General will respect the existing rights of all Jagirdars, Zamindars and tenants in the said possessions, who, by the course they now pursue, evince their fidelity to the British Government.

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The Governor-General hereby calls upon all the Chiefs and Sardars in the protected territories to cooperate cordially with the British Government for the punishment of the common enemy, and for the maintenance of order in these States. Those of the Chiefs who show alacrity and fidelity in the discharge of this duty, which they owe to the protecting power, will find their interests promoted thereby; and those who take a contrary course will be treated as enemies to the British Government, and will be punished accordingly.

The inhabitants of all the territories on the left bank of the Sutlej are hereby directed to abide peaceably in their respective villages, where they will receive efficient protection by the British Government. All parties of men found in armed bands, who can give no satisfactory account of their proceedings, will be treated as disturbers of the public peace.

All subjects of the British Government, and those who possess estates on both sides of the river Sutlej, who, by their faithful adherence to the British Government, may be liable to sustain loss, shall be indemnified and secured in all their just rights and privileges.

On the other hand, all subjects of the British Government who shall continue in the service of the Lahore State, and who disobey the proclamation by not immediately returning to their allegiance, will be liable to have their property on this side of the Sutlej confiscated, and themselves declared to be aliens and enemies of the British Government.

7. TREATY OF LAHORE, 1846

Articles of Agreement concluded between the British Government and the Lahore Durbar, on Dec. 16th, 1846.

Whereas the Lahore Durbar and the principal Chiefs and Sirdars of the State have in express terms communicated to the British Government their anxious desire that the Governor-General should give his aid and assistance to maintain the administration of the Lahore State, during the minority of Maharaja Duleep Singh, and have declared this measure to be indispensable for the

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maintenance of the Government : And, whereas the Governor-General has, under certain conditions, consented to give the aid and assistance solicited; the following Articles of Agreement, in modification of the Articles of Agreement* executed at Lahore on the 11th of March last, have been concluded on the part of the British Government by Frederick Currie, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, and Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Montgomery Lawrence, C.B., Agent to the Governor-General, North-West Frontier, by virtue of full powers to that effect vested in them by the Right Honourable Viscount Hardinge, G.C.B., Governor-General; and, on the part of His Highness Maharaja Duleep Singh, by Sirdar Tej Singh, Sirdar Shere Singh, Dewan Deena Nath, Fakeer Nooroodeen, Rae Kishen Chund, Sirdar Runjore Singh Mujeetheea, Sirdar Shumshere Singh, Sirdar Lal Singh Morareea, Sirdar Kher Singh Sindhanwala, Sirdar Urjun Singh Rungnungaleea, acting with the unanimous consent and concurrence of the Chiefs and Sirdars of the State assembled at Lahore.

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* The Articles of Agreement, numbering sixteen were agreed to at Lahore, on 11th March by Mr. Frederick Currie and Major H.M. Lawrence, on the part of the British Government, and by Bhai Ram Singh, Raja Lal Singh, Sardar Tej Singh, Sardar Chattar Singh Atariwala, Sardar Ranjit Singh Majithia, Dewan Dina Nath and Fakir Nur-ud-din, on the part of the Maharaja Duleep Singh, and ratified, the same day, by the seal of the Right Honourable Sir Henry Hardinge, Governor-General, and of His Highness the Maharaja Duleep Singh.

By the Articles of Agreement, the Maharaja renounced all claim to, or connection with, the territories south of the Sutlej, and ceded to the Honourable East Indian Company, in perpetual sovereignty, the whole country, hill and plain, between the rivers Bias and Sutlej. The Lahore Government being unable to pay one-and-a-half crores of rupees as an indemnity for the expenses of the war, or to give security satisfactory to the British Government for its eventual payment, the Maharaja ceded to the Honourable Company, as an equivalent for one crore, his possessions in the hill countries between the Bias and the Indus, including the provinces of Kashmir and Hazara, engaging to pay the remaining fifty lakhs on or before the ratification of the treaty. He engaged to disband the mutinous troops of the Lahore army, and to re-organize the regular, or *Ain*, regiments of infantry upon the system, and according to the regulations as to pay and allowances, observed in the time of the late Maharaja Ranjit Singh. The regular army of the Lahore State was not to exceed twenty-five battalions of infantry, consisting of eight hundred bayonets each, and twelve thousand cavalry, and the guns, thirty-six in number, which had been pointed against the British troops on the right bank of the Sutlej, were to be surrendered. The control of the rivers Bias and Sutlej, with the continuation of the latter river, commonly

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Article I.—All and every part of the Treaty of Peace between the British Government and the State of Lahore, bearing date the 9th day of March, 1846, except in so far as it may be temporarily modified in respect to Clause 15 of the said Treaty by this engagement, shall remain binding upon the two Governments.

Aritcle II.—A British officer, with an efficient establishment of assistance, shall be appointed by the Governor-General to remain at Lahore, which officer shall have full authority to direct and control all matters in every department of the State.

Article III.—Every attention shall be paid, in conducting the administration, to the feelings of the people, to preserving the national institutions and customs, and to maintain the just rights of all classes.

Article IV.—Changes in the mode and details of administration shall not be made, except when found necessary for effecting the objects set forth in the foregoing clause, and for securing the just dues of the Lahore Government. These details shall be conducted by native officers, as at present, who shall be appointed and superintended by a Council of Regency, composed of leading Chiefs and Sirdars, acting under the control and guidance of the British Resident.

Article V.—The following persons shall, in the first instance, constitute the Council of Regency—viz., Sirdar Tej Singh, Sirdar Shere Singh Attarewala, Dewan Deena Nath, Fakeer Nooroodeen, Sirdar Runjore Singh Majeetheea, Bhaee Nidham Singh, Sirdar Utter Singh Kaleewala, Sirdar Shumshere Singh Sindhanwala; and

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called the Garrah and Panjnad, as far as confluence of the Indus at Mithankot, and from Mithankot to the borders of Biluchistan was, with respect to tolls, to rest with the British Government. Free passage was to be allowed to the British troops through Lahore territories, and no European or American was to be employed by the Lahore Government without the sanction of the British. In consideration of the services rendered by Raja Gulab Singh, of Jammu, to the Lahore State towards procuring the restoration of the relations of amity between the Lahore and British Governments, the Maharaja agreed to recognise the independent sovereignty of Raja Gulab Singh in such territories and districts in the hills as the British might make over to him. No changes were to be made in the frontiers of the Lahore State without the concurrence of the British Government, and all its disputes were to be referred to that Government, which was not to exercise any interference in the internal administration of the Lahore State.

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no change shall be made in the persons thus nominated without the consent of the British resident, acting under the orders of the Governor-General.

Article VI.—The administration of the country shall be conducted by this Council of Regency in such manner as may be determined by themselves, in consultation with the British Resident, who shall have full authority to direct and control the duties of every department.

Article VII.—A British force of such strength and numbers, and in such positions as the Governor-General may think fit, shall remain at Lahore for the protection of the Maharajah and the preservation of the peace of the country.

Article VIII.—The Governor-General shall be at liberty to occupy with British soldiers any fort or military post in the Lahore territories, the occupation of which may be deemed necessary by the British Government for the security of the capital, or for maintaining the peace of the country.

Article IX.—The Lahore State shall pay to the British Government twenty-two lakhs of new Nanuk Shahee rupees, of full tale and weight per annum, for the maintenance of this force, and to meet the expenses incurred by the British Government; such sum to be paid by two instalments, or thirteen lakhs and 20,000 in May or June, and eight lakhs and 80,000 in November or December of each year.

Article X.—Inasmuch as it is fitting that Her Highness, the Maharanee, the mother of Maharajah Duleep Singh, should have a proper provision made for the maintenance of herself and dependents, the sum of one lakh and 50,000 rupees shall be set apart annually for that purpose, and shall be at Her Highness's disposal.

Article XI.—The provisions of this engagement shall have effect during the minority of His Highness Maharajah Duleep Singh and shall cease and terminate on His Highness attaining the full age of sixteen years, or on the 4th of September of the year 1854, but it shall be competent to the Governor-General to cause the arrangement to cease at any period prior to the coming of age of

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His Highness, at which the Governor-General and the Lahore Durbar may be satisfied that the interposition of the British Government is no longer necessary for maintaining the Government of His Highness the Maharajah.

This Agreement, consisting of eleven Articles, was settled and executed at Lahore by the Officers and Chiefs and Sirdars above-named, on the 16th day of December, 1846.

F. CURRIE
H. M. LAWRENCE

TEJ SINGH	BHAEE NIDHAM SINGH
SHERE SINGH	SIRDAR KHAN SINGH
DEWAN DEENA NATH	SHUMSHERE SINGH
FAKEER NOORODEEN	LAL SINGH MORAREEA
RAE KISHEN CHUND	KHER SINGH
RUNJORE SINGH	URJUN SINGH
UTTER SINGH	

8. TREATY WITH GULAB SINGH OF 1846

Treaty between the British Government and Maharaja Gulab Singh, concluded at Amritsar, on 16th March, 1846.

Treaty between the British Government on the one part, and Maharaja Gulab Singh of Jammu on the other, concluded, on the part of the British Government, by Frederick Currie. Esq., and Brevet-Major Henry Montgomery Lawrence, acting under the orders of the Right Honourable Sir Henry Hardinge, G.C.B., one of Her Britannic Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, Governor-General, appointed by the Honourable Company to direct and control all their affairs in the East Indies, and by Maharaja Gulab Singh in person.

Article 1. The British Government transfers and makes over for ever, in independent possession, to Maharaja Gulab Singh, and the male heirs of his body, all the hilly or mountainous country, with its dependencies situated to eastward of the river Indus, and westward of the river Ravi, including Chamba and excluding Lahul,

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being part of the territory ceded to the British Government by the Lahore State, according to the provisions of article 4 of the treaty of Lahore, dated 9th March, 1846.

Article 2. The eastern boundary of the tract transferred by the foregoing article to Maharaja Gulab Singh shall be laid down by commissioners appointed by the British Government and Maharaja Gulab Singh respectively, for that purpose, and shall be defined in a separate engagement, after survey.

Article 3. In consideration of the transfer made to him and his heirs by the provisions of the foregoing articles, Maharaja Gulab Singh will pay to the British Government the sum of seventy-five lacs of rupees (Nanakshahi), fifty lacs to be paid on ratification of this treaty, and twenty-five lacs on or before the 1st of October of the current year, A.D. 1846.

Article 4. The limits of the territories of Maharaja Gulab Singh shall not be at any time changed without the concurrence of the British Government.

Article 5. Maharaja Gulab Singh will refer to the arbitration of British Government any disputes or questions that may arise between himself and the Government of Lahore, or any other neighbouring State, and will abide by the decision of the British Government.

Article 6. Maharaja Gulab Singh engages for himself and heirs, to join, with the whole of his military force, the British troops, when employed within the hills, or in the territories adjoining his possessions.

Article 7. Maharaja Gulab Singh engages never to take, or retain, in his service any British subject, nor the subject of any European or American State, without the consent of the British Government.

Article 8. Maharaja Gulab Singh engages to respect, in regard to the territory transferred to him, the provisions of article 5, 6, and 7, of the separate engagement between the British Government and the Lahore Durbar, dated March 11th, 1846

Article 9. The British Government will give its aid to Maharaja Gulab Singh, in protecting his territories from external

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enemies.

Article 10. Maharaja Gulab Singh acknowledges the supremacy of the British Government, and will, in token of such supremacy, present annually to the British Government one horse, twelve perfect shawl goats of approved breed (six male, and six female), and three pairs of Kashmir shawls.

This treaty, consisting of ten articles has been this day settled by Frederick Currie, Ewq., and Brevet-Major Henry Montgomery Lawrence, acting under the directions of the Right Honourable Sir Henry Hardinge, G.C.B., Governor-General, on the part of the British Government, and by Maharaja Gulab Singh in person; and the said treaty has been this day ratified by the seal of the Right Honourable Sir Henry Hardinge, G.C.B., Governor-General.

Done at Amritsar, this 16th Day of March, in the year of our Lord 1846, corresponding with the 17th day of Rabi-ul-awal, 1262, Hijri.

9. TERMS GRANTED TO, AND ACCEPTED bY, MAHARAJA DALIP SINGH (1849)

Terms granted to the Maharaja Dalip Singh Bahadur, on the part of the Honourable East India Company, by Henry Meirs Elliot, Esq., Foreign Secretary to the Government of India, and Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Henry Montgomery Lawrence, K.C.R.B., Resident in virtue of full powers vested in them by the Right Honourable James, Earl of Dalhousie, Knight of the Most Ancient and Most Noble Order of the Thistle, one of Her Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, Governor-General appointed by the Honourable East India Company to direct and control all their affairs in the East Indies, and accepted on the part of his Highness the Maharaja, by Raja Tej Singh, Raja Dina Nath, Bhai Nidhan Singh, Fakir Nur-ud-din, Gundur Singh, Agent of Sardar Sher Singh Sindhianwala, and Sardar Lal Singh, Agent and son of Sardar Attar Singh Kalianwala, Members of the Council of Regency, invested with full powers and authority on the part of His Highness.

1st. His Highness, the Maharaja Dalip Singh shall resign

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for himself, his heirs, and his successors, all right, title, and claim to the sovereignty of the Punjab, or to any sovereign power whatever.

2nd. All the property of the State, of whatever description and wheresoever found, shall be confiscated to the Honourable East India Company, in part payment of the debt due by the State of Lahore to the British Government, and of the expenses of the war.

3rd. The gem called the Koh-i-Noor, which was taken from Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk by Maharaja Ranjit Singh, shall be surrendered by the Maharaja of Lahore to the Queen of England.

4th. His Highness Dalip Singh shall receive from the Honourable East India Company, for the support of himself, his relatives, and the servants of the State, a pension not less than four and not exceeding five lakhs of Company's rupees per annum.

5th. His Highness shall be treated with respect and honour. He shall retain the title of Maharaja Dalip Singh Bahadur, and he shall continue to receive, during his life, such portion of the above named pension as may be allotted to himself personally, provided he shall reside at such place as the Governor-General of India may select.

Granted and accepted at Lahore, on the 29th of March, 1849, and ratified by the Right Honourable the Governor-General on the 5th April, 1849.

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APPENDIX-II

GARDNER'S ACCOUNT OF FALL OF SYAD AHMAD—THE REFORMER

I arrived at Bajaur at the moment that a certain Muhammad Ismail had arrived from the fanatic chief Syad Ahmad with a demand for aid from the *Mir* (Alam Khan) as from all neighbouring Muhammadan chieftains. This Syad Ahmad was a remarkable man, who gave much trouble for some years to Maharaja Ranjit Singh.

Some four years prior to my arrival at Bajaur, Syad Ahmad had raised the green standard of the Prophet in the Eusafzai hills, between Peshawar and Attock, and proclaimed a religious war against the Sikhs. Syad Ahmad belonged to a family of Syads in Bareilly, and commenced life as a petty officer of cavalry in the army of Amir Khan, the great soldier of fortune. After preparing in India for the religious war which he desired to wage, Syad Ahmad entered Afghanistan ; but finding no enthusiasm there, he proceeded with several hundred followers to Punjtar in the Eusafzai hills, and made that place his headquarters. This was early in the year 1827 (Gardner had not yet joined Ranjit Singh's service).

After various vicissitudes the Syad actually became in 1830 master of the city and district of Peshawar, from which place he ousted Sultan Muhammad Khan. This prince was a brother of Amir Dost Muhammad Khan, and at this time ruled Peshawar as a tributary of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, the sovereign of the Panjab.

This success of the Syad proved his ruin, for the Maharaja immediately occupied Peshawar in person and determined to destroy the reformer once and for all. He intrusted the task to his son, the Shahzada Sher Singh, whose operations were at first unsuccessful.

Syad Ahmad had two faithful and trusted followers, the Maulvis Abdul Hai and Muhammad Ismail, and these men strained every nerve to obtain assistance and reinforcements for their master.

When Muhammad Ismail arrived at the Court of Mir Alam Khan the latter was in doubt what course to adopt. The religious enthusiasm of his people, and their hatred of the infidel Sikhs, impelled him to make

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common cause with the Syad, but at the same time he had substantial reasons to maintain friendly relations with Ranjit Singh, and more especially with the Wazir (or Prime Minister), Raja Dhyan Singh. The influence of the latter was very great throughout all the mountain regions on the northern boundaries of India.

In this difficulty my arrival, with my trusty band of Khaibaris, was very welcome to the *Mir*, and no doubt combined with his former freindship to elicit the warm reception which he gave me.

He was wary enough to say nothing of his intentions to me for three or four days after my arrival, until my attention was attracted by an impassioned address which I heard Muhammad Ismail deliver to a large assembly of the wild Eusafzai mountaineers. The enthusiasm which he aroused suggested to me that I might do worse than join the Syad his master, as I saw a good opportunity of getting together such a body of followers as would make my service valuable to any ruler to whom I might subsequently offer them. Therefore, when Mir Alam Khan proposed to me to take command of those of his followers who desired to array themselves under the sacred banner of the Syad or Khalifa as he now styled himself, I fell in readily enough with his wish.

In a few days I marched towards Balakot, the headquarters of Syad Ahmad, at the head of some 250 well-armed and warlike mountaineers, all burning with religious zeal and with the desire to work their will in the rich city of Peshawar. For rich it seemed to them, though at that time its prosperity was at a very low ebb, it having been for so many years bandied about between the Sikhs and Afghans.

On the march I heard a curious story concerning the Syad, which may or may not have been true. In either case it did not appear to lessen the respect in which the narrator evidently held the holy man.

At some period of his career, said my informant, Syad Ahmad was in the service of Sirdar Pir Muhammad, chief of Kohat and one of the Barakzai brothers. The Syad was then young, active, energetic, and a first-rate swordsman and horse-man. One day he and another man applied for pay towards their expenses, and received a written order for some 30 or 40 rupees on a village a few miles from Peshawar. They went to the village in company and received the money ; but when returning they quarrelled as to its division, the upshot being that Syad Ahmad slew his comrade. Then, taking all the money, he hastened to Peshawar. At the gateway of Sirdar Pir Muhammad's house in that city he found a swift horse standing, ready saddled and bridled, according to custom. This horse he forcibly seized, and fled on it across the Kabul river to Bajaur. There he immediately began to preach a holy war against all unbelievers.

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It did not appear to distress my religious enthusiast to believe that the great Khalifa, the Defender of the Faith, the glitter of whose sword was now to scatter destruction among the infidels, was identical with the thief and murderer of the story.

However, as it turned out, we set out to join the holy standard just an hour too late, for the Syad and his faithful *maulvi* were slain, fighting bravely side by side, before we could join in the fight. They were taken by surprise at a place near Balakot and surrounded by a large party of Sikhs, who had crossed the river Indus on *massaks,* or inflated skins. In this anxiety to rejoin his master Muhammad Ismail had left me and my force a march behind, and, owing to the mistake or treachery of a guide, we took longer than was expected in coming up.

I well remember the scene as I and my Eusafzai and Khaibari followers came in view of the action.

Syad Ahmad and the *maulvi,* surrounded by his surviving Indian followers, were fighting desperately hand to hand with the equally fanatical Akalis of the Sikh army. They had been taken by surprise and isolated from the main body of the Syad's forces, which fought very badly without their leader. Even as I caught sight of the Syad and *maulvi* they fell pierced by a hundred weapons. Those around them were slain to a man, and the main body dispersed in every direction.

With some difficulty I kept my party together, and withdrew to the hills, showing so bold a front to the Sikhs that they did not dare to follow us far. The Eusafzai mountain-passes always gave the Sikhs cholera, as General Avitabile used to say.

I saw literally within a few hundred yards of the Syad when he fell, but I did not see the angel descend and carry him off to Paradise, although many of his followers remembered afterwards that they had seen it distinctly enough.

I remained two nights at Panchthar, where I rested my men after their exertions, and divided the booty between them. The death of the Syad broke the only link that held his followers together, and in the retreat many of the parties from different regions fell upon one another for plunder. My Khaibaris and Eusafzais were equal to the best in this matter, and cut down several of the Hindustani fanatics, i.e. the Indian followers of Syad Ahmad, who had joined them for protection, and whose clothing or equipment seemed to them a desirable acquisition.

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APPENDIX-III

COLONEL GARDNER'S LIST OF RANJIT SINGH'S OFFICERS

1.	General Ventura	Italian	Infantry
2.	" Allard	French	Cavalry
3.	" Avitabile	Italian	Infantry
4.	" Court	French	Artillery
5.	" Harlan	American	Infantry
6.	" Van Cortlandt	English	"
7.	Colonel Ford	"	"
8.	" Foulkes	"	Cavalry
9.	Captain Argoud	French	Infantry
10.	Colonel Canora	American	Artillery
11.	" Thomas	Anglo-Indian	Infantry
12.	Lieut-Col. Leslie, *alias* Rattray	"	"
13.	Colonel Mouton	French	Cavalry
14.	" Hurbon	Spanish	Engineer
15.	" Steinbach	English (?)	Infantry
16.	Captain de la Font	French	"
17.	" M Pherson	English	"
18.	Mr. Campbell	Anglo-Indian (?)	"
19.	Mr. Garron (Carron ?)	French	Cavalry
20.	Gordon	Anglo-Indian	"
21.]	De Fasheye	French	"
22.]	(father and son)		"
23.	Alvarine	Italian	Infantry
24.	Hommus	Spaniard	"
25.	Amise	French	"
26.	Hest	Greek	"
27.	De la Roche	French	"

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28.	Dubuignon	French	Infantry
29.	John Holmes	Anglo-Indian	"
30.	Vochus	Russian	"
31.	De l' Ust	French	"
32.	Hureleek	Greek	"
33.	Fitzroy		"
34.	Barlow		"
35.	Martindale	Anglo-Indian	"
36.	Jervais	French	"
37.	Moevius	Russian	"
38.	Bianchi	Italian	"
39.	Dottenweiss	German	Engineer

MEDICAL OFFICERS

1.	Dr Harvey	English	
2.	Dr Benet	French	Drew 500 rupees per mensem in 1838.
3.	Dr Martin Honigberger	Austrian	Drew 900 rupees per mensem same year. A clever doctor, an enterprising traveller, and an amiable man ; author of an interesting work, *Thirty-five Years in the East.*

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APPENDIX-IV

LIST OF CHARACTERS IN PANJAB HISTORY

FROM THE DEATH OF RANJIT SINGH TO THE BRITISH ANNEXATION

SOVEREIGNS

1. Maharaja Ranjit Singh, died June 27, 1839.
2. " Kharrak Singh (son of No. 1), deposed, and subsequently poisoned, November 5, 1840.
3. " Nao Nihal Singh (son of No.2), killed, Nov. 5, 1840.
4. Maharani Chand Kour (widow of No.2 and Regent) ; murdered by order of No.5, June 1842.
5. Maharaja Sher Singh (son of No. 1), murdered by No. 15, September 15, 1843.
6. Maharaja Dulip Singh (son of No. 1), deposed, March 29, 1849.

PRINCES, MINISTERS, ETC.

7. Kashmira Singh (son of No.1), killed by the Sikh army, July 1843.
8. Peshora Singh (son of No. 1), murdered, August 1844.
9. Partab Singh (son of No. 5), murdered by No. 15, Sept. 15, 1843.
10. Chet Singh (Minister to Kharrak Singh), murdered by No. 11, October 8, 1839.
11. Raja Dhyan Singh (Prime Minister), murdered by No. 15, September 15, 1843.
12. Raja Gulab Singh, afterwards Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir.
13. Raja Suchet Singh, killed by the Sikh army, March 1843.

(Nos. 11–13: the Dogra brothers.)

14. Hira Singh (son of No. 11), killed by the Sikh army, December 21, 1844.
15. Ajit Singh, Sindhanwalia,
16. Lehna Singh, Sindhanwalia,

(Nos. 15–16: brothers, killed by the Sikh army, September 1843.)

17. Pandit Julla (Secretary to No. 14), killed by the Sikh army, December, 21 1844.
18. Jawahir Singh (uncle of No.6), killed by the Sikh army, September 21, 1845.
19. Maharani Jindan (mother of No. 6), banished.

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APPENDIX -V

CHRONOLOGIES OF SIKH SOVEREIGNS

Maharaja Kharak Singh

Born	: Feb. 9, 1801 (Lahore)
Marriage	: 1812, with Chand Kaur (daughter of Jaimal Singh Kanhaiya)
Children	: One son, Nau Nihal Singh, born on Feb. 2, 1820
Appointed as successor to Maharaja Ranjit Singh	: June 21, 1839
Death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh	: June, 27 1839
Installed Maharaja	: June 27, 1839
Military campaigns	: 1818—Multan
	: 1819—Kashmir
Deposed by Nau Nihal Singh	: Oct. 10, 1839
Death (suspected food poisoning)	: Nov. 4, 1840

Maharaja Nau Nihal Singh

Born	: Feb. 2, 1820
Marriage	: March 7, 1837, with Bibi Nanki, daughter of Sirdar Sham Singh, Attariwala
Death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh	: June, 27 1839
Kharak Singh (Father)	
Installed Maharaja	: June 27, 1839
Deposed Maharaja Kharak Singh appointing himself Maharaja	: Oct. 10, 1839
Death (by accident)	: Nov. 5, 1840

Maharani Chand Kaur

Born	: 1802, daughter of Jaimal Singh Kanhaiya
Marriage	: 1812, married to Kanwar Kharak Singh

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Children	: 1820, gave birth to Kanwar Nau Nihal Singh
Death of Kharak Singh	: Nov. 4, 1840
Death of Nau Nihal Singh	: Nov. 5, 1840
Became Regent for soon-to-be-born child of Nau Nihal Singh	: Nov. 5, 1840
Retired in favour of Kanwar Sher Singh after an armed confrontation	: Jan. 27, 1841
Death (by murder)	: June 11, 1842

Maharaja Sher Singh

Born	: 1807, to Mehtab Kaur, first wife of Maharaja Ranjit Singh
	: One son, Kanwar Pertab Singh
Military Campaigns	: Defeated Sayyad Ahmad, 1822
	: Occupied Jahangir Fort at Attock
	: Defeated Sayyad Ahmed again, 1829
	: Routed Sayyad Ahmed's forces resulting in Sayyad's death, 1831
	: Captured Ladakh and Baltistan. Wars with Maharani Chand Kaur for the throne of Panjab, Jan. 14, 1841
Installed Maharaja	: Jan. 27, 1841
Death (assassination)	: Sept. 15, 1843

Rani Jindan

Born	: 1817
Marriage	: 1835, with Maharaja Ranjit Singh
Children	: One son, Duleep Singh, born on Sept. 6, 1838 (Lahore)
Death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh	: 27th June, 1839
Duleep Singh proclaimed Maharaja, Rani Jindan as Regent	: Feb. 21, 1844
First Sikh War	: Dec. 13, 1845
Second Sikh War	: Nov. 1848
Annexation of Punjab	: March 29, 1849
Put in confinement in Shiekhupur	: August, 1847
Confinement in Chunar Fort, Varanasi	: May 15, 1848
Ornaments and assets worth Rs. 9	

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lakhs confiscated by the British	: July 14, 1848
Imprisoned	: April 6, 1849
Excape from prison to Nepal	: April 29, 1849
Reached London	: July, 1861
Death in London	: Aug. 1, 1863
Ashes brought to Lahore	: March 27, 1924

Duleep Singh

Born	: Sept. 6, 1838 (Lahore)
Proclaimed Maharaja	: Feb. 2, 1844
First Sikh War	: Dec. 13, 1845
Second Sikh War	: Nov. 1848
Annexation of Punjab	: March 29, 1849
Conversion to Christianity	: March 8, 1853
Hobbies	: Shooting partridges, ducks, pheasants, photographing birds and animals
Death of Rani Jindan	: August 1, 1863
Marriage	: With Bamba Muller, Egyptian, Christian daughter of a German merchant
Sons	: Victor Dalip Singh (born 1866) Fredrick Dalip Singh (born 1876) Albert Edward Dalip Singh (born 1879)
Daughters	: Bamba Jindan (born 1869) Katherine Jindan (born 1872) Sophia Alexendra Jindan (born 1875)
Death of Bamba Muller	: Sept. 18, 1887
Remarriage	: With an English lady, Ada Weatherill
Visit to Russia	: Sept. 1887
Death	: Oct. 22, 1893 (At Paris; burial in London)

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